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Monday February 26 1996

Albania L 250	Hong Kong HKS 26	Pakistan PKR 70
Andorra FF 10	Hungary HUF 200	Poland Z 3 100
Australia AS 10	Iceland ISK 100	Portugal E 200
Bahrain BD 1.00	India INR 50	Russia RUB 2.10
Belgium BF 60	Israel ILS 5.00	Saudi Arabia R 10
Bulgaria B 170	Italy L 2,000	Slovenia SIT 250
Canada C 1.00	Jordan JD 1.00	South Africa R 10
Czech Republic KCZ 45	Kuwait KD 2.50	Sri Lanka SL 200
Denmark DK 15	Latvia LVL 300	Slovakia SK 100
Egypt E 20	Lithuania LTL 1,000	Sweden SEK 15
Finland F 10	Malaysia M 2.00	Switzerland SF 3
France FF 10	Mexico M 20	Taiwan NT 100
Germany DM 3.50	Norway NOK 10	Thailand TH 50
Greece D 300	Oman OMR 1.00	Turkey TL 100,000
		USA US\$ 2.75
		Zimbabwe Z\$ 200

The Guardian

INTERNATIONAL

NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR
46 485

Printed in London, Manchester, Frankfurt and Roubaix

Young, bright but caught up in neo-Nazi evil

Death pact

G2 with European weather

Major in bid to buy off rebels

Concessions on eve of Scott vote

Michael White and Richard Norton-Taylor

THE Government will today offer cosmetic concessions to angry Conservative MPs still wavering over the Scott report in the hope of victory in tonight's Commons vote without openly depending on Ulster Unionists for survival.

As David Trimble's nine Ulster Unionists signalled they would join the three Democratic Unionists in abstaining in tonight's 10pm vote, one Tory backbencher, Quentin Davies, announced he could not support the Government.

But other would-be rebels, including Richard Shepherd, appeared to be pulling back from a decision which would plunge the Government into a full vote of confidence.

Labour and Tory strategists believe that — with the IRA back on the bombing trail — Unionists will also hesitate to help trigger a spring general election. Rumours that the Democratic Unionists had secured concessions over a proposed election in Northern Ireland in exchange for their abstention were strongly denied last night.

Scott did find other shortcomings. There are serious lessons to be learnt. There are issues about the way government works, which we need to discuss. Nor do I say mistakes weren't made.

The Government has abandoned the controversial claim by Sir Nicholas Lyell, the Attorney-General, in the Matrix Churchill case that ministers have a duty to sign Public Interest Immunity (PII) certificates — gagging orders. The assertion was sharply criticised by Sir Richard Scott.

At the time Michael Heseltine was the only minister to express grave doubts which were not properly communicated to the trial judge. Yesterday Mr Heseltine led the ministerial media team defending John Major's refusal to insist on resignations — proof of Opposition MPs said, of the Government's desperate determination to hang on.

"Yes, and I think they should. I've read every word of the report about William Waldegrave [the criticised former Foreign Office minister, now at the Treasury] and it's inconceivable that man would set out to deceive anybody," he said, without similarly defending Sir Nicholas.

Ministers will be given more discretion before signing PII certificates and — unlike the Matrix Churchill case — will take personal responsibility for claims that documents should be suppressed. Sir Nicholas told the Scott inquiry that prosecution counsel, and not ministers, were responsible for deciding which documents could be disclosed — a view Sir Richard vigorously contested.

Ministers will be told to approach PII claims with the presumption that documents should be disclosed rather than suppressed, Ian Lang, the Trade and Industry Secretary, is also expected to announce changes in the 1999 export control law.

But the Government rejects the Scott recommendation that blanket PII claims should never be used in criminal trials.

Leader comment, and letters, page 8; Paul Foot and Geoffrey Robertson, page 9

Scott: The balance of votes

For	Against
Conservative: 326	Labour: 270
	Lib Dem: 25
	SDLP: 4
	SNP: 4
	Plaid Cymru: 4
Undecided	
Ulster Unionists: 9	
DUP: 3	
Ind Unionist: 1	
Ind Conservative: 1	

'Clear-up con' by police

David Pallister

TWO West Midlands police officers have been suspended following allegations that they artificially improved the force's detection rates by persuading prisoners to confess to crimes they had not committed.

A force spokesman said yesterday that the officers — Stephen Bakerswell and Detective Constable Michael Sabin — will face a criminal investigation by the complaints and discipline department.

Yesterday's News of the World alleged that prisoners were taken to pubs and restaurants, and to see relatives or girlfriends in return for signing blank statement forms. These would then be filled in with unsolicited offences, the paper said.

One prisoner, Tony Moss, told the paper that he admitted five offences in order to visit his mother, and left the rest of the form blank. The newspaper published a "supplementary incident register" showing that he had confessed to 120 offences. Another prisoner claimed he falsely confessed to 350.

The force's high rates of clear-ups by "Secondary Means", which involve mainly post-sentence prison visits, was highlighted in the 1995 report of the Inspectorate of Constabulary. It noted: "The detections for burglary of dwellings have been heavily dependent on post sentence visit clear-ups, which have increased to well above national levels".

West Midlands claimed that 80.2 per cent of detected burglaries were cleared up in this way, compared with a national average of 42.7 per cent. Nearly half of all crimes were said to have been cleared up through post sentence prison visits compared with a national average of about 18 per cent.

The report said: "Her Majesty's Inspector was concerned at the high proportion of detections achieved by way of secondary means, the bulk of which are from admissions by persons serving custodial sentences".

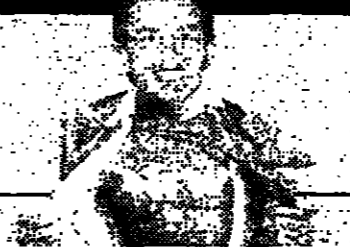
Robin Corbett, Labour MP for Erdington, in Birmingham, said: "These are serious allegations of malpractice which the West Midlands police are right to deal with in a serious manner."



Exclusive extract from his new book

Peter Mandelson: How Labour will change Britain

This section, page 11

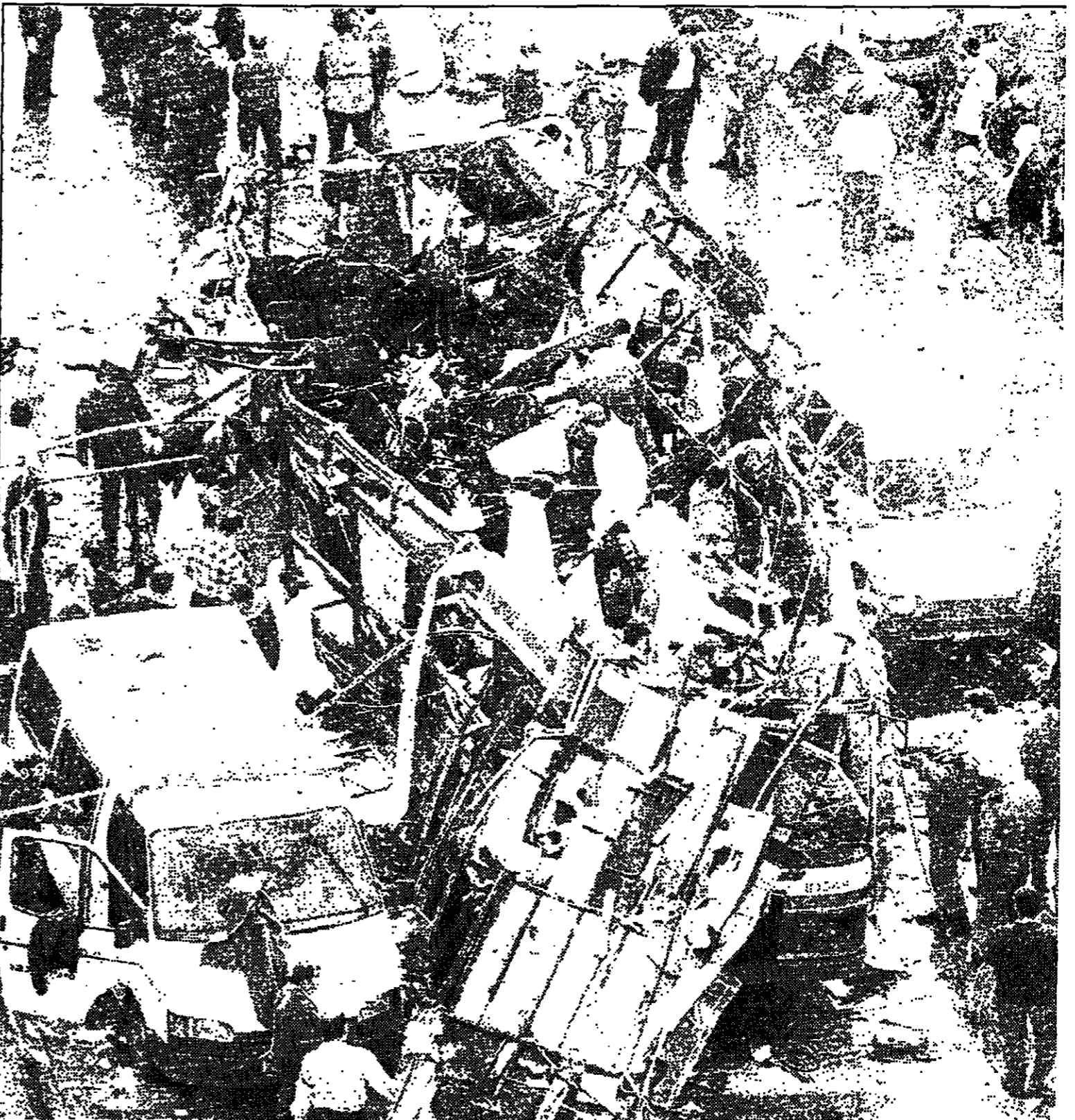


How the BBC drives people mad

Media

G2 page 7/9

Hamas claims responsibility for savage blow to Middle East peace



Rescue workers inspect the wreckage of the No 18 Egged bus ripped apart by a suicide bomb in Jerusalem yesterday

PHOTOGRAPH EYAL WASHAVSKY

Double suicide bomb attacks kill 25 in Israel

Islamist terrorists hit Jerusalem bus and hitch-hiking soldiers

Derek Brown and Jessica Berry in Jerusalem

ISLAMIST suicide bombers struck a savage double blow to the fragile Middle East peace yesterday, killing 25 people and wounding scores more.

Two explosions brought bloody mayhem to the heart of Jerusalem, and to a crowded soldiers' hitch-hiking station on a busy road outside the southern port of Ashkelon. The death toll was the highest in a single day since Israel and the PLO signed their first peace deal in September 1993.

The Islamic Resistance Movement, Hamas, claimed responsibility in an anonymous call to Israeli Radio. Later, in a leaflet, the group boasted of "an intelligence and military victory", and said the attacks were retaliation for the assassination of master bomber Yehya Ayyash on January 5.

The bombings also came two years to the day since the Hebron massacre, when Jewish settler Baruch Goldstein mowed down 29 Palestinians in a mosque.

Ayyash, known as the Engineer, was killed by a booby-trapped mobile telephone, almost certainly planted by Israeli agents. At his funeral,

crowds of Hamas supporters chanted: "We want buses, we want cars."

Yesterday, they got their bus, and their car. In the first of the outrages, a powerful bomb, packed with nails and ball-bearings, ripped through a packed commuter bus in the heart of Jerusalem. Almost exactly one hour later, a car bomb scythed into a crowd of soldiers waiting for lifts at a hitch-hiking post at a busy crossroads outside Ashkelon. Hamas and the smaller mil-

"This is a terrorist operation," said Mr Arafat. "I condemn it completely"

lignant group, Islamic Jihad, launched a series of bus bombings and other suicide attacks between the spring of 1994 and the summer of 1995. Yesterday's bombings were the first since last August.

Twenty-three people died in the Jerusalem bus bombing, and two more in Ashkelon. Around 80 were wounded, of whom 14 were still on the critical list last night.

Body parts and lumps of human flesh littered the street, as ambulances and

rescue teams struggled to restore some kind of order.

Israel responded immediately by closing its borders with the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, most of which are controlled by the self-rule Palestinian Authority headed by Yasser Arafat.

The prime minister, Shimon Peres, insisted that the peace process would continue, and called on Mr Arafat to "take tough measures to halt the actions of Hamas".

Mr Arafat also denounced the bombings. "It is not a military operation. I condemn it completely," he said. Within hours of the bombings, Palestinian police had arrested about 40 Hamas activists. The roundup is expected to continue.

One Hamas activist, who preferred to remain anonymous, blamed Mr Arafat for trying to make peace with Israel. "This dialogue is not going anywhere. Armed attacks now cannot damage us any more. And we are not afraid of the Palestinian Authority's crackdowns," he said.

In Washington, President Clinton said the bombings "offend the conscience of the world". In a message of support to Mr Peres, John Major said London had recently suffered a bus bombing. "So I know all too well the devastation they will have caused".

Peres could pay at polls, page 7; Leader comment, page 8

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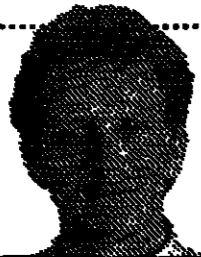
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Sketch

Belfast's silent plea for peace



David Sharrock

It was the most shamolic demonstration Belfast has seen, and for that reason one of the most affecting. The signal for the "silent scream of peace" was to have been the tolling of church bells at three o'clock, followed by 10 minutes' silence and more bells. The same would happen at the same time in other towns and cities in Ireland, England and the United States.

But the silence and the bells were swamped by the noise of a city at work and play. At 10 minutes past three a young man from the crowd outside City Hall took the initiative, chanted a platitude and called for the demonstration to start. Several thousand paper doves were held aloft and there was quiet in the sunshine under a blue sky.

A substantial pocket of Sinn Féin members thrust their own posters high. "Make peace work, negotiate now." Socialist Workers hoisted their weekly paper, Families Against Intimidation and Terror carried placards, Ulster Unionist Party members mingled with penance, young families with new-born children and foreign students.

Then Gordon Burns, a television presenter and one of the organisers, asked the people standing next to him to start chanting. "Cassidy, Cassidy. Give us back our peace." It took a while to carry but slowly, in the fashion of a Mexican wave, the slogan worked its way through the crowds like a sigh turning into a roar. Somebody started a slow handclasp which spread like a fire. "All we are saying is give peace a chance" floated upwards to join the laughter. Others sobbed.

The Sinn Féin contingent kept their mouths shut. Jim Gibney, a member of Gerry Adams' Falls Road "Frank" tank" who helped build the republican movement's peace strategy which the IRA demol-

ished a fortnight ago, looked like a man with a foot in each camp. With one hand he clasped his party's poster, but his other was attached to the end of a blue banner bearing a dove and the much simpler message: "We want peace."

A lady from Belfast's middle-class Lisburn Road stood shoulder to shoulder with him; unaware whom she was sharing her banner with. "The last 18 months have been heaven on earth," she said. "I want it back. We're all sick of the violence and the politicians."

Mr Gibney had more to say. "I think it's legitimate for people to call for a cessation. Sinn Féin would like the ceasefire reinstated, but what we are saying is the most realistic way of achieving that is for the British Government to set a date for all-party talks."

He hadn't experienced any hostility from those around him, most of whom agreed with him that now was the sensible time to talk. It was poignant: the wannabe politician and the woman who was sick of politicians, standing side by side.

Suzie and Charlie Miller had brought their children. "It's for these wee fellows that we've come," said Charlie, his two-year-old son Jonathan swinging on his back as Robert and Connor, both aged four, stood politely next to him. "Jonathan was born just as we thought the Troubles had finally ended. I wouldn't want him to have to grow up with what we've seen."

A few steps away Oonagh Armstrong and her English husband Richard Dixon stood with their 15-month-old daughter Cara. Oonagh is from Belfast, and the couple came here from London when the IRA ceasefire began. "We left because we thought London was becoming too violent a place to bring up a child," Oonagh said.

"I vividly remember what it was like here in the early 1980s. I've friends who lost limbs in bombs, relatives killed. The first major bomb scare here and we're leaving."

The symphony of human sounds built to a crescendo of applause and smiles. It was over as suddenly as it began: no speeches, no collusions. It all seemed so easy. Only making peace was such a piece of cake.



Family affair... The coffins of two members of the Majid clan killed in the attack on the 'failed traitors' are carried through the streets of Baghdad at the weekend

Iraq puts official seal on 'tribal' killings

The presence of Saddam's sons at the funeral of 'martyrs' killed in the murderous attack on the president's two sons-in-law endorsed the brutal retribution against the defectors, David Hirst in Beirut writes

THE Iraqi state lent its full weight yesterday to the official version of the murder of two returning defectors and some of their relatives, with President Saddam Hussein's two sons, Uday and Qusai, shown on television leading a state funeral for two "martyrs" who died in the administration of spontaneous "tribal justice" against the traitors.

But with Arab and other governments denouncing what they saw as fresh proof of the regime's brutality, Iraqi opposition figures said President Saddam had lured his defecting henchmen home with the sole purpose of killing them. One Arab newspaper claimed he had killed Lieutenant-General Hussein Kamel al-Majid and his brother Saddam Kamel al-Majid with his own hand.

The defectors who returned home last week after fleeing to Jordan six months ago, were married to President Saddam's daughters but a day before their deaths it

was announced they had divorced. On Friday they were killed by members of their own Majid clan — to which the president also belongs — in the course of which two other clan members died in what the official media portrayed as heroic martyrdom.

Al-Jumhuriyah newspaper published the message which the Majids addressed to President Saddam concerning the defectors, telling him that "though you have pardoned their shameful deeds it was our duty to cut off the traitors' heads, to exterminate this treasonous branch of the family tree."

There were unconfirmed reports yesterday of tribal clashes around President Saddam's home town of Tikrit, where the two Majid "martyrs" who died in the affray were buried. Uday and his brother Qusai attended the funeral in Tikrit.

One of President Saddam's former companions, Salah Omar Ali, said that the murder of two defectors, as well



Hussein Kamel (left) and his brother Saddam Kamel, President Saddam's former close aides and sons-in-law

as their father Kamel al-Majid, a third brother and other relatives, would have "drastic repercussions within the ranks of the ruling family".

Other opposition figures disagreed, saying that for the time being President Saddam has emerged with new strength and self-confidence. They added, however, that he will need time to cope with his own challenges, which is the "food-for-oil" deal he is trying to strike with the United Nations. As a result of the stalemate in New York negotiations, the Iraqi dinar, which rose from about 3,000



to the dollar to 600 in a month, is falling again, and the price of basic foodstuffs rising.

Before leaving for London yesterday en route to the United States, where he will argue for urgent action on Iraq, King Hussein said he was disgusted by the killings. "We must all do the impossible to prevent Iraq exploding in a way that will affect the entire region," he warned, adding that "Iran has big ambitions in Iraq, and perhaps Syria has aims too."

Kuwaitis openly rejoiced over the murder of the man

they deemed a war criminal because of his brutal and destructive role in the occupation of their country. "This is the answer to the prayers of widows and orphans in Kuwait and others who lost loved ones at Hussein Kamel's hand," wrote the deputy editor of al-Qabas newspaper.

Citing travellers arriving in Amman from Baghdad, the London-based newspaper al-Sharq al-Awsat reported that President Saddam himself had interrogated the two men and then killed them. Some reports said that his elder son Uday, who had embraced the two men at the Iraqi frontier with tears in his eyes, planned or personally led the "tribal" attack on the house in Baghdad where they were held. Other reports said that their uncle, former defence minister Ali Hassan al-Majid led it in a bid to expunge the stain on his clan's honour.

The London-based al-Hayat newspaper said that the reason why President Saddam ordered the two men's 75-year-old father to be killed too, even though he held him in special esteem, was because the president had personally assured the old man that they would be spared if they returned.

The assurance was reportedly one reason why they took that suicidal decision. But other reports said this was a triumph of President Saddam's inspired understanding and manipulation of the psychology of his closest associates. He had studied Hussein Kamel since he worked as driver in his escort and later as a servant of his wife Sajida, later to become Lt-Gen Majid's mother-in-law. The Iraqi ambassador to Bahrain justified the killings as a "perfectly normal affair in a country full of tribes".

"The tribe which does not cleanse its honour with blood loses all credibility." "Though horrifying, the murder of the two men is typical in the history of President Saddam's family rule. Last year, the president asked another exile — the 70-year-old former president of the Iraqi Medical Association, Dr Raji Tikriti, who lived in Amman — to return to Baghdad. He was torn limb from limb in a cage of famished dogs.

One can only surmise that the reason why President Saddam ordered the two men's 75-year-old father to be killed too, even though he held him in special esteem, was because the president had personally assured the old man that they would be spared if they returned.

Yet he must have known that this would have to be a truly exceptional tie for him to escape vengeance.

Review

Birthday salute to master composer

Andrew Clements

Games and Incriptions: Kurtág at 70 South Bank Centre, London

THE Hungarian György Kurtág, most private and mysterious of living composers, was 70 last Monday. Celebrations are planned throughout the year, but the London Sinfonietta offered its own well-conceived tribute in the Purcell Room and the Queen Elizabeth Hall at the weekend — two days of concerts that included two of Kurtág's masterpieces and a clutch of British premieres.

The composer and his wife were scheduled to perform, but failed to make the trip from Vienna. If the enigma of Kurtág was kept intact, the concert was kept intact, the concert was kept intact, the concert was kept intact.

The event led off on Friday with a performance by Valdim Anderson and Thomas Ades of Kurtág's first major score, his concerto for solo piano and piano. The Sayings of Peter Bornemisza, com-

pleted in 1968. Saturday evening's concert began with the 1980 Messages Of The Late Miss R V Trousova, one of the milestones in post-war European music, passionately sung by Rosemary Hardy.

The Trousova cycle epitomises Kurtág's greatness; it sets 21 aphoristic texts by the Russian Rimma Dalos in a sequence of surreally intense movements. The world of sound and gesture is utterly distinctive, the instrumental writing full of dark, clangorous effects, the vocal lines vertiginously expressionist.

The tribute ended with the London première of Rückblick, completed two years ago. It's not really a new work, but Kurtág's recycling of tiny fragments from his earlier works, shaped into an hour-long sequence. The substantial novelties of the weekend had come earlier with the British premieres of his 1990 Double Concerto for piano and cello, and the Grabstein for Stephen, for guitar and orchestra.

The Double Concerto suggested a new continuity in his music, with two extended movements in which the soloists and their attendant ensembles arrayed around the hall. Grabstein ("Gravestone") also places instruments around the auditorium, while the solo guitar remains the quiet elegiac focus of the music. There is a single terrifying climax, a spasm of violence which unleashes the full force of the spatial brass, and then a quiet, transcendently beautiful close. It's over in nine minutes; there's hardly another composer working today who could say so much in such a concentrated way.

Cabinet report contradicted on export of lethal weapons

David Pallister

ONE question MPs will want to pursue is the way the British Government granted export licences for vast quantities of munitions that were diverted to both Iraq and Iran.

International Ltd, was exporting tens of millions of pounds worth of ammunition that fuelled the Iran-Iraq war — contradicting the Cabinet Office briefing that "the report confirms that no lethal weapons were exported."

Sir Richard discovered that licences were approved even after customs officials had begun an investigation into the company in August 1987.

MP in top Tories' debt

David Hencke and Michael White

THE Tory MP at the centre of claims of a secret deal between Tory grandees and banks to avoid him being declared bankrupt yesterday his financial position was under control.

Roy Thomson, MP for the safe West Midlands seat of Bromsgrove, whose business empire hit financial troubles during the recession, said he was under no threat of going bankrupt.

Commenting on reports in yesterday's Sunday Times that the former Tory cabinet minister Lord Younger had intervened with a French-owned London bank UBC, to prevent the bank pressing a £1 million claim against the MP, Mr Thomson said: "I have no personal knowledge of these meetings but that is

not to say that they did not take place."

It was reported that five major British banks had agreed to hold off from taking action against Mr Thomson for debts of £6 million owed to them until after the general election, following Lord Younger's intervention.

If they had pursued him for the money, it could have led to him being declared bankrupt, forcing his resignation as an MP. Such a move would have threatened the Government's fragile majority.

Mr Thomson was unable to comment about any such discussions. But he said: "My financial position is under control and I have no threats of bankruptcy."

He added: "As far as I can recall I have never met Lord Younger and never had a meeting with senior Conservatives to discuss my financial arrangements. Certain

matters in the past have caused me concern, but I believe, have gone or are going into liquidation. But I ceased to be a director of them in 1992."

One former minister, who would not be named, told the Guardian yesterday that senior Tories have agreed to meet "all the interest payments on Mr Thomson's debts for two years" to avoid him being forced to resign.

Another Midlands Tory MP said: "I understand a refinancing deal has been done."

But Labour demanded an investigation by the new parliamentary commissioner, Sir Gordon Downey, charged with overseeing MPs' interests following the Nolan inquiry.

Labour MP Jeff Rooker said last night: "It is true he is receiving a pecuniary interest which is not declared in the Register of MPs' interests."

Mandelson's plan to get a grip on Whitehall

Michael White Political Editor

PETER Mandelson says today that a Labour government should improve its grip on the Whitehall machine through the creation of "super-ministries" and a strengthened political team around Tony Blair in Downing Street.

His call for the appointment of a "non-ministerial political manager inside No 10" comes in his new book, serialised in today's Guardian. It struck some fellow-MPs as a job description for himself, as a key Blair adviser who has no immediate claims to high office.

ing he has constructive ideas about policy and how Labour would retain power for at least two terms. Both his book — co-written with ex-Social Democrat Roger Liddle — and an interview yesterday with BBC's On The Record stress the need to "build a coalition of support for what the Labour government is doing right across the country."

In his TV interview Mr Mandelson gave cautious backing to a compromise formula for electoral reform as part of a future Labour government's drive to win such support for a "programme of national renewal" in which Mr Blair might seek active cooperation from the Liberal Democrats.

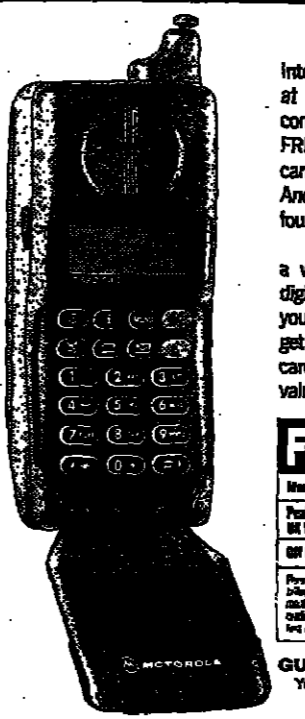
While rejecting pure forms of proportional representation because it encouraged extremist parties he went on to endorse the alternative vote system which allows voters to express preferences between candidates in single-member constituencies.

Mr Mandelson dismissed talk of coalitions, pacts and places for Lib Dems in a Blair cabinet as not something that "arises now" and contrasted it with "principled cooperation between like-minded people in Parliament and across the country."

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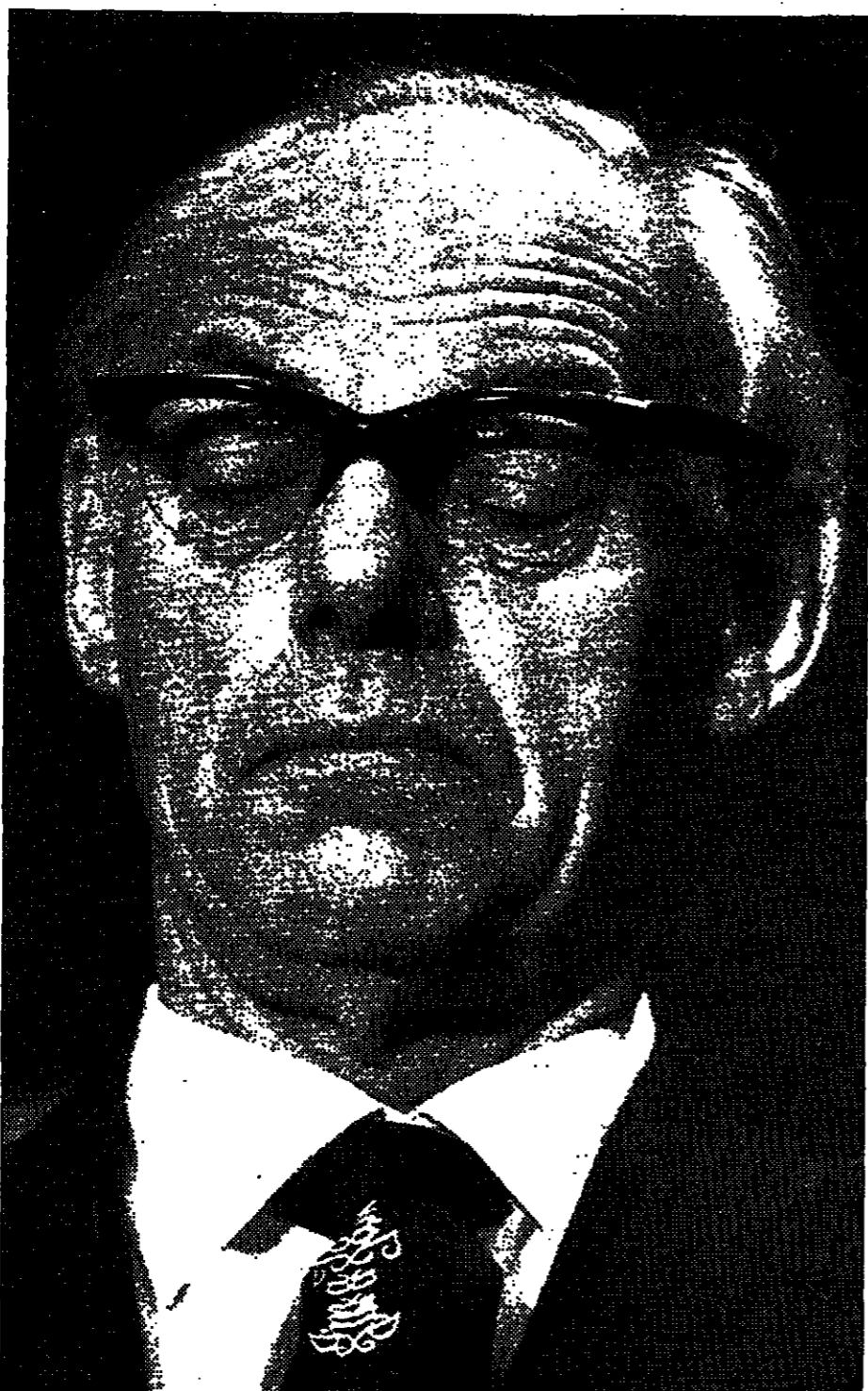
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Handwritten text in Arabic script: "سكنا من العراق"

Edward Pilkington on Denis Thatcher's dramatic transformation from golf-obsessed buffoon to renaissance man

Dear Bill: gin-soaked halfwit was all a ruse



Eyes down... Denis Thatcher 'agreed to play along with his image' PHOTOGRAPH: DON MCPHIE

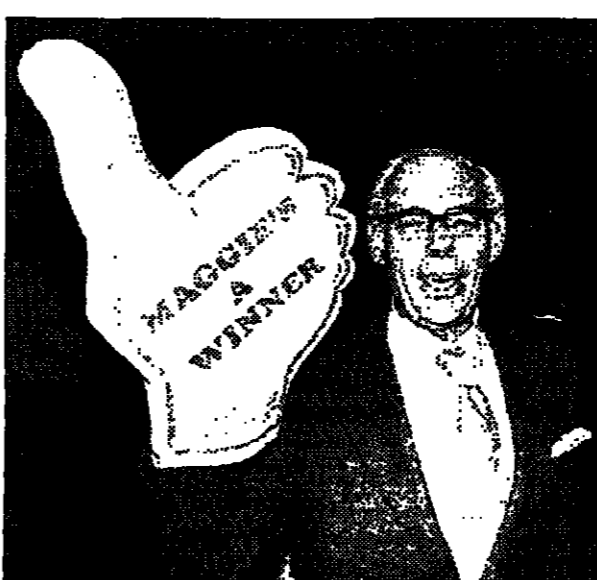
EVER since the first "Dear Bill" column appeared in Private Eye on May 18, 1979, two weeks after his wife acquired the keys to Number 10, he has been perceived by the general public as a juniper-sozzled, right-wing, golf-obsessed halfwit whose sole aim in life was to sneak another smifter behind the Boss's back.

But a new interpretation of Sir Denis Thatcher was yesterday unveiled by his daughter and a close friend. They say that far from being the buffoon suggested by Private Eye, he is serious, sensitive, intelligent and a man of "great depth of character".

Let anyone find this dramatic reinterpretation from gin-soaked simpleton to renaissance man rather hard to swallow, Carol Thatcher and Lord Deedes, Sir Denis's old friend and golf companion, provide an explanation. During 11 years as escort of the Prime Minister, Mr Thatcher played along with the "Dear Bill" image as a "useful" ruse.

Playing the part of someone whose marbles were not wholly intact would deflect any criticism that as the man behind the throne he was unduly influencing his wife's political decisions.

Lord Deedes, former editor of the Daily Telegraph and the "Bill" to whom Private Eye satirically had Mr Thatcher address his letters, said the play was agreed between him, Denis and Margaret Thatcher soon after she came to power. It was seen as a means of



Hands up... Denis Thatcher wielding a giant glove at a rally, and living up to his satirical image by having a smoke



avoiding the sorts of accusations that latterly have been directed at leading ladies such as Hillary Clinton.

And it worked. "He got through 12 years of his wife as prime minister without dropping a single clanger," Lord Deedes said.

The new characterisation of Sir Denis is officially to be launched in April when HarperCollins publishes Carol Thatcher's biography of her father, with whom she is very close. Below the Parapet will attempt to rewrite history and cast off the Private Eye conceit that clings to him.

Neither Carol nor I wanted Denis to die with the Dear Bill image pinned round him," Lord Deedes told the Sunday Telegraph.

There are elements of the satirical Denis that ring true, Sir Denis, First Baronet of Scotney in the County of Kent, to give his full title, is golf mad, does have a fondness for Benson & Hedges, and is not immune to the attractions of gin and tonic. He is said to have introduced himself abroad as "that well-known international alcoholic".

On the other hand, somebody who has made himself a millionaire several times

over and sits on the boards of numerous companies is unlikely to be wholly devoid of nous. According to Carol Thatcher, he was Mrs Thatcher's "eyes and ears to the world".

Friends say Sir Denis is more of an old-fashioned and out of date," said Lord Archer. "But he has levels of courtesy and good manners that we can all learn from."

The best-selling novelist, who was deputy chairman of the Conservative Party under Mrs Thatcher and shares Sir Denis's passion for rugby, said that if the theory was

true that he had happily cultivated the role of buffoon for Machiavellian political purposes, then "he's even cleverer than I thought British people saw him as a happy-go-lucky man and he may well have wished them to have that impression."

For John Wells, who co-authored the Private Eye column and acted Sir Denis in the stage version, the reinterpretation is nothing but "an extremely amusing plot hatched between Carol and Denis". Mr Wells's final analysis remains unchanged: "He's a buffoon - though a very amiable one."



Disgusted of Downing Street

On Canada: "What is Canada full of? Canada, dear boys, is full of f---."

On the National Lottery: "Totally opposed, old boy. Another of those disgusting Continental habits."

On the Indian city of Goa, at the 1983 Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting: "This place is just too high on the buggeration factor."

On avoiding embarrassment at boring foreign functions:

"I use the old army trick of leaning forward and putting my forefinger in the roof of my mouth. That way, if you fall asleep you either wake up or you're sick."

On the BBC: "It is full of Marxists."

On John Major's government: "A bunch of socialists."

Lady Thatcher on Denis: "With Denis there, I was never alone. What a man. What a husband. What a friend."

Fury in book world as WH Smith turns the screw on publishers

Lisa Buckingham

WH SMITH, the newsagency-to-our Price records group, has sparked fury in the publishing world by exercising its muscle as Britain's biggest bookseller and imposing far tougher terms of trade on its suppliers.

The group is understood to be demanding much bigger discounts from publishers and to be insisting that it is allowed to buy books on a sale or return basis with an extended credit period.

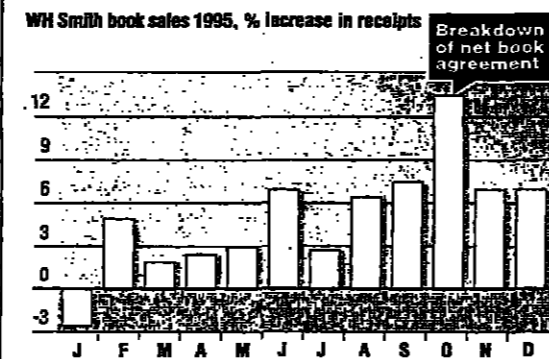
A leaked internal memo from Jo Howard, the head of adult books, to branch managers says they must insist on a discount of at least 48 per cent on all local books and these

must be bought only on sale or return with 60 days' credit. One small local publisher predicted the new terms would force his local history and pub guide business into bankruptcy. "This will wipe out a lot of small publishers," he said.

"Others will be forced to increase their prices," Smith's has a virtual monopoly in our business and if they had contacted us we could all have tried to help them improve their margins. But we simply can't cope with them doing this overnight.

It is understood that Smith's, which sells about one in every four books, has also issued new contracts to larger publishers. "They are in the strongest position to be heavy handed

Bookselling market



UK book market, 1995, turnover, £m. WH Smith (inc. Waterstone's) 300. Pentos (Dillon/Halsbard/Athena) 125. Blackwell retail 45. Merries 25. Hamrick 20. Other multiple booksellers 150. Independent booksellers 650. C7Ms 90. Book clubs and mail order 210. Supermarkets 25. Other large mixed retailers 60. All other (inc. non-retail sales) 640.

and they are being just that," said one senior publisher. Smith's declined to comment on its terms of trade

saying they were confidential and it refused to discuss whether its new tactics were a response to tougher trading

conditions following the end of the Net Book Agreement, which allowed price competition on books.

But a newly published survey from Book Marketing suggests that the collapse of the agreement failed to create

any extra growth in book sales. Large sales increases were needed to compensate for discounted prices.

Smith's, whose profits have been hit by increasing competition from supermarkets and upheaval in newspaper distribution, recently issued its second profits warning in less than a year and is hoping that book promotions will help revive its flagging core WH Smith retail chain.

New management at the group, under the former Post Office chief executive Bill Cockburn, is clearly taking a tougher line on what it regards as an unhealthy cosy relationship between its buyers and the publishers' sales forces.

The company is understood to be insisting that there

should be no face-to-face meetings with publishers' sales representatives and an article in The Bookseller claims Smith's is planning to charge publishers £200 for the right to show their new titles to its buying team.

"This approach may look tough, but it is not shrewd," said another leading publishing executive. "Bad relationships with publishers will not lead to clever and sensitive stocking which is what Smith's needs to improve sales."

A spokeswoman for Smith's denied the group was being badly hit by overstocking even though the internal memo states that some branches currently have 88 weeks of forward stock in local books.

Guardian targeted over military ban on gays

Angella Johnson

THE Ministry of Defence is attempting to influence media reporting of an armed forces internal review document which recommends that its ban on homosexuals remain unchanged, according to a confidential report.

A media action plan, which forms part of the leaked homosexuality policy assessment team's report, highlights the importance of winning over publications like the Guardian in preparation for the document's official release on March 19.

It suggests that the release should be managed to give "an impression of open-mindedness and conclusions based on rational, practical management considerations".

Filming facilities for television should highlight crowded mess decks on ships and other living conditions, but particularly advanta-

geous would be a feature article published in a major newspaper.

"Despite (or because of) its generally hostile editorial stance, such a piece, emphasising the depth and breadth of the report would probably have most effect in the Guardian."

Angela Mason of Stonewall, the lesbian and gay pressure group, said: "It is clear that they are trying to manipulate media and public opinion in support of a biased report." She called for a fresh independent inquiry.

Last October the Court of Appeal rejected the case of four homosexual service personnel who had challenged their sacking, but recommended that the policy be reviewed in the light of changing social attitudes and the policies of other countries.

The review team - comprising service personnel and civil servants - will present its report to a parliamentary

4. An in-depth one-to-one briefing on a background basis for a selected journalist for a feature-type piece to appear on the day of publication. Despite (or because of) its generally hostile editorial stance, such a piece, emphasising the depth and breadth etc of the report would probably have most effect in "The Guardian".

select committee on the Armed Forces Bill next month.

It has decided that "any relaxation of the existing policy is likely to have a detrimental effect on operational effectiveness". There would be "reduced cohesion and increased friction" if homosexuality was accepted in the armed forces, the report concluded.

But Stonewall said the findings are biased, because the Government has allowed the Ministry of Defence to act as "judge and jury" in its own cause.

The report also suggests that the ministry had a "reasonable chance" of winning any legal challenge in

British courts, but should it lose compensation payments would be "small".

If the challenge was taken to the European Court of Justice under the equal treatment directive, "we have a small chance of losing; in the event... compensation would be substantial".

Should the case go before the European Court of Human Rights, however, it accepts that losing was the most likely outcome.

"That would be in three or four years' time and in the meantime we certainly have a respectable case which could be argued robustly," it adds. Any compensation payment in this instance would be small.

The Government is hoping that the findings will strengthen Britain's argument in Strasbourg that the current policy is necessary to protect national security.

The report also speculates that a "no open homosexuality" rule might meet the same objectives - even though it is disregarded as an option.

Ms Mason called for a new independent inquiry to look at the issues. "This one was not impartial, MoD chiefs publicly declared their determination to keep the ban at all costs," she said.

"They sent letters through the chain of command saying armed forces minister Nicholas Soames had asked for evidence in support."

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Atherton can scarcely bat his eyelids at the moment. There can be no other explanation: England have to be playing as badly as they are on purpose. It has to be Raymond Illingworth's masterplan. Mike Selvey on another England collapse

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Major and Bruton thrash out plans for summit

McGuinness talks to officials again

David Sharrock and Leonard Doyle

SINN Fein's Martin McGuinness will today hold his first meeting with government officials since the IRA ended its ceasefire a fortnight ago.

The meeting at Stormont comes amid efforts — including an hour-long telephone call last night between John Major and the Irish prime minister, John Bruton — to finalise an Anglo-Irish summit for tomorrow.

The two governments are close to agreement on a package of proposals for reviving the peace process, including elections, a referendum and a date for the commencement of all-party talks.

Mr McGuinness said yesterday that the absence of "real" dialogue had caused the peace process to collapse.

"Any new process must contain copper-fastened and unambiguous public assurances that all-party talks will be initiated by both governments at the earliest possible date," he said.

His deliberate failure to mention elections in Northern Ireland was taken as a positive sign, since Sinn Fein has until now opposed the idea, which was proposed by

the Democratic Unionist leader, Ian Paisley, and taken up by the Ulster Unionist leader, David Trimble.

In another sign that nationalists might be prepared to accept elections as the price of round-table talks, the Social Democratic and Labour Party leader, John Hume, indicated that his party was prepared to take part.

Mr Hume said on the BBC's Breakfast with Frost programme that he would not object to an election to determine the support of each party entering talks if it was held on the same day as an all-Ireland referendum.

He said he was confident that the IRA would restore its ceasefire if a date for talks was set.

But on the same programme Mr Trimble said there had to be a total and absolute end to violence before this could take place.

"That is what we want, and that is what we must have," he said. "Not just a ceasefire, because if there was a new ceasefire what credibility would it have? They continued violence, they twisted and turned whenever asked to make a commitment."

International pressure on the IRA mounted last week when a senior Irish-American activist informed its army council that it must re-establish

the ceasefire and return to the political strategy mapped out by the Sinn Fein leader, Gerry Adams, or be abandoned by the US support network which has funded, armed and stood by the organisation throughout the past 25 years of conflict in Northern Ireland.

"If the IRA has depended on Irish-America for support in the past, it cannot do so anymore," a key activist said.

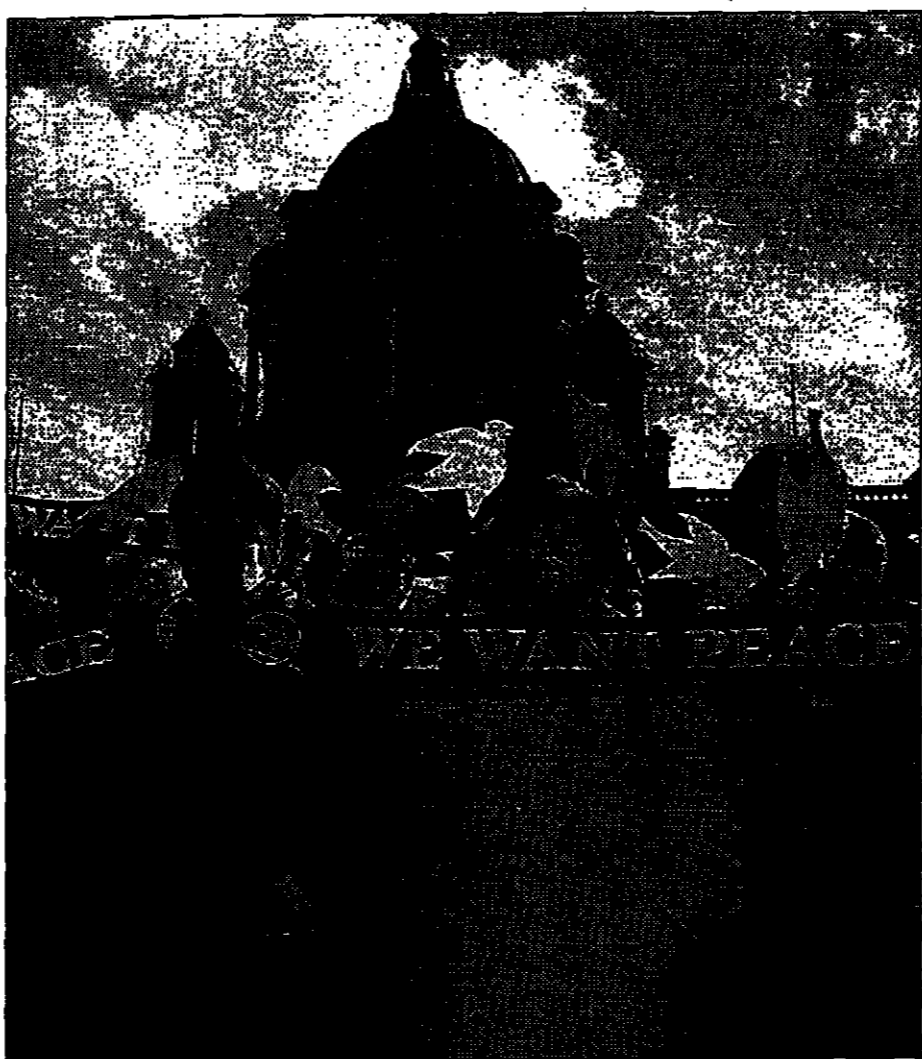
Tens of thousands of people demonstrated for peace on both sides of the Irish border yesterday.

Mr Bruton led a march for peace in his home village of Dunboyne, County Meath, where he vilified the IRA for ending its ceasefire.

"We are not going to allow the agenda for this democracy to be set by the army council of the IRA," he said.

"This secret organisation, whose membership is unknown, who are accountable to no one, who do not stand before the public to get approval for what they do, has no right to act on our behalf."

"And the people of Ireland are saying 'stop'."



Some of the 10,000 protesters at Belfast city hall demanding a return to the ceasefire. In the Republic, James Bruton, the Irish prime minister, vilified the IRA. PHOTOGRAPH: PAUL FAYH

Rival candidate threat hits Labour hopes

Geoffrey Gibbs

A FORMER Labour MP and anti-apartheid campaigner is threatening to sabotage the party's hopes of winning the Exeter seat at the next election unless it drops the controversial South African-born lawyer John Lloyd as its candidate.

Mr Lloyd, who fought the seat for Labour in 1992, was re-elected at a meeting in August and has strong local support in the Devon city where he is deputy leader of the council.

But the reselection has drawn fierce criticism from some sections of the party following the disclosure that Mr Lloyd — a member of the African Resistance Movement in the 1960s — gave state evidence against a fellow activist, John Harris, who was later hanged.

Peter Jackson, who represented High Peak in Derbyshire in the 1960s, has written to Tom Sawyer, Labour's general secretary, urging the party's National Executive Committee to reopen selection

because of concern about events leading to Mr Harris's execution.

In his letter, a copy of which has been obtained by the Guardian, Mr Jackson says that unless Mr Lloyd is cleared by South Africa's Truth Commission, which is investigating crimes carried out under the apartheid regime, he will respond to the wishes of unnamed party members in Exeter "and stand as a Labour candidate".

His threat comes as the NEC prepares to consider a report on the affair at its meeting on Wednesday. However, Mr Lloyd's supporters appear unmoved by the prospect of a rival. Den Ferrin, constituency secretary and agent, said: "John is so well known in Exeter that even if he calls himself some funny Labour name I really am confident it is not going to make a lot of difference."

Local backing for Mr Lloyd was reaffirmed last week when the constituency party's AGM voted heavily in favour of a motion reaffirming its "wholehearted support" for him.

Labour to back terrorism act

Alan Travis Home Affairs Editor

LABOUR is to drop its 13-year opposition to the renewal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act, the shadow home secretary, Jack Straw confirmed yesterday.

The historic shift, allied with a new recognition that some parts of Michael Howard's new headline law sentencing package deals with genuine problems, is expected to trigger a turbulent debate within the Labour Party.

But shadow cabinet sources are confident that it will not provoke the kind of fierce row that would have been seen over the issue three or four years ago.

Mr Straw said yesterday, with the backing of Tony Blair, that he would be asking the shadow cabinet later this week to back the shift in policy on anti-terrorism legislation. The Commons is due to renew the act early next month.

Although it was a Labour government which first introduced the Prevention of Terrorism Act in 1974, the party has opposed its annual renewal since 1983.

Its criticism focused on the use of exclusion orders to create a system of "internal exile" and powers to detain people for four days without recourse to the courts.

Mr Straw said that in recent years the main difference with the Government was whether there should be

a fundamental review of the workings of the act.

"That fundamental review was set up last year. Now we have a renewal of the bombing campaign by the IRA. We do not want any message to go out to them that they could have any idea from our position that there could be any kind of excuse for the renewal of the bombing by them."

He told the ITV Dimbleby programme that the shadow cabinet had already agreed to back the renewal of the Emergency Powers Act but acknowledged there may yet be opposition. Jeremy Corbyn, the leftwing MP for Islington North, has already voiced criticism saying there was no evidence the act had stopped a single bomber.

"The Conservatives have repeatedly used Labour's opposition to the Prevention of Terrorism Act to claim it is 'soft on law and order'."

Mr Straw yesterday moved to defuse similar charges over his attitude towards Mr Howard's tough sentencing package which has been under repeated attack from senior members of the judiciary.

"There was a serious problem in dealing with repeat rapists who had to be released too early because the courts had to sentence them to a specified term."

He was attracted to a version of the Government's proposal for an automatic life sentence for repeat rapists under which the parole board rather than the Home Secretary set the release date.

Prisons ombudsman seeks 'test of strength' talks

Alan Travis

SIR Peter Woodhead, the Prisons ombudsman, will meet the Home Secretary this week amid claims he is prepared to resign over attempts to restrict his scope to investigate complaints.

The Prison Service has refused to release crucial files to the former Nato deputy supreme commander in an attempt to block him investigating ministerial decisions which affect the 3,200 category A life-sentence inmates.

The service is insisting his remit should only allow him to investigate complaints about "operational matters" and not "policy decisions".

A High Court judge has described the situation as most unsatisfactory. The split between policy and operation was at the heart of the dispute which led to the resignation of Derek Lewis as director-general last year.

The job of prisons ombudsman was set up 18 months ago as one of the last recommendations of the Woolf inquiry

into the 1990 Strangeways prison riots to be acted upon.

The showdown meeting on Wednesday to "discuss the operation of the ombudsman's office" is expected to involve an attempt by the Michael Howard to exclude from Sir Peter's remit all grievances voiced by inmates which refer to ministerial decisions or Civil Service advice to ministers — as well as those involving life-sentence inmates. He would also be banned from demanding access to all the Civil Service paperwork in a particular case.

"He would only be able to look at complaints about lost property. It is an open secret in the prison service that this will be a crucial test of strength," said a Prison Service source.

A Prison Service spokesman said Wednesday's meeting with Mr Howard would clarify Sir Peter's remit: "The original remit was to investigate complaints by prisoners about the Prison Service as an agency, not the decisions of individual ministers."

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Volunteers join race to save birds

Edward Pilkington
and Geoffrey Gibbs

FRANTIC efforts were continuing on Lundy Island and along the Welsh coast yesterday to rescue sea birds caught up in oil from the Sea Empress amid claims that the spillage is Britain's worst marine environment disaster.

Volunteers from the Devon Wildlife Trust joined staff on the National Trust owned island of Lundy to gauge the extent of the damage to bird life. There are fears that thousands more birds could be affected by oil further out in the Bristol Channel.

Mike Thomasson, Devon's emergency planning officer, said a report from the Department of Transport's marine pollution control unit showed the sheen of oil had retreated and now lay halfway between the island and the South Wales coastline in a wide arc from Ramsey Island to Carmarthen Bay.

Joan Edwards, marine conservation officer for the Devon Wildlife Trust, said the situation on Lundy — England's only statutorily protected marine nature reserve — continued to cause concern. "This now looks like the worst disaster the marine environment of this country has ever known. The scenes along the Welsh coast at low tide amount to a holocaust for marine organisms."

The clean-up operation was intensified as the Sea Empress continued to be pumped of its remaining cargo. The complete transfer of oil — believed to be about 55,000 tonnes — is expected to last a week.

Yesterday oil was recovered by harbour craft from three sites around the estu-

ary. Dakota aircraft sprayed dispersants on patches of oil in Carmarthen Bay, where up to 10,000 common scoter sea ducks were threatened.

Over the weekend the number of oiled birds sighted rose from 1,400 to more than 20,000. About 500 birds are being treated but it is unknown how many have died. There were also reports of several puffins and 45 grey seals having been oiled.

The Labour MP for Pembroke, Nick Ainger, accused Department of Transport DoT officials of ignoring expert advice which could have prevented up to 60,000 tonnes of crude oil being spilled by the Sea Empress.

He claimed pilots on board the ship were consistently overruled when they proposed floating the tanker.

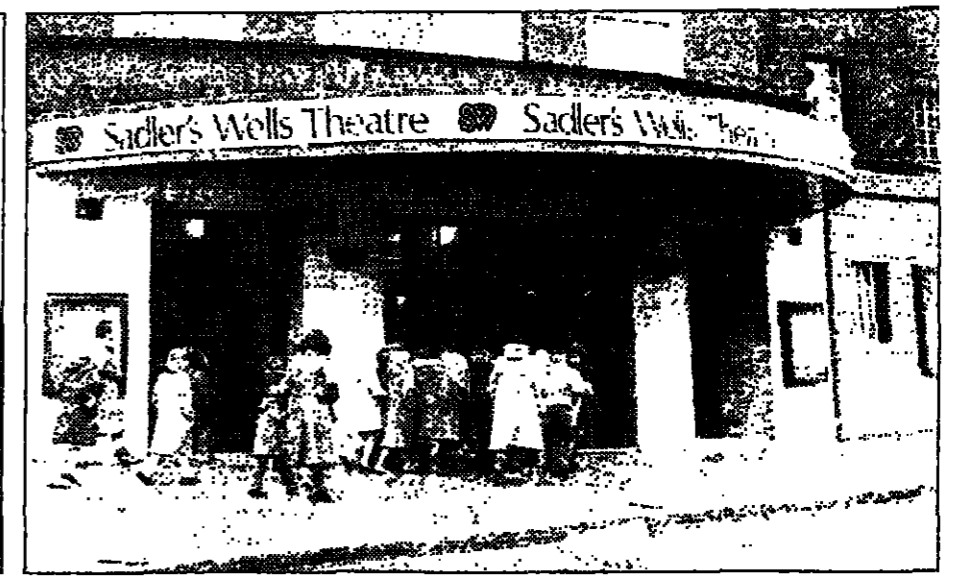
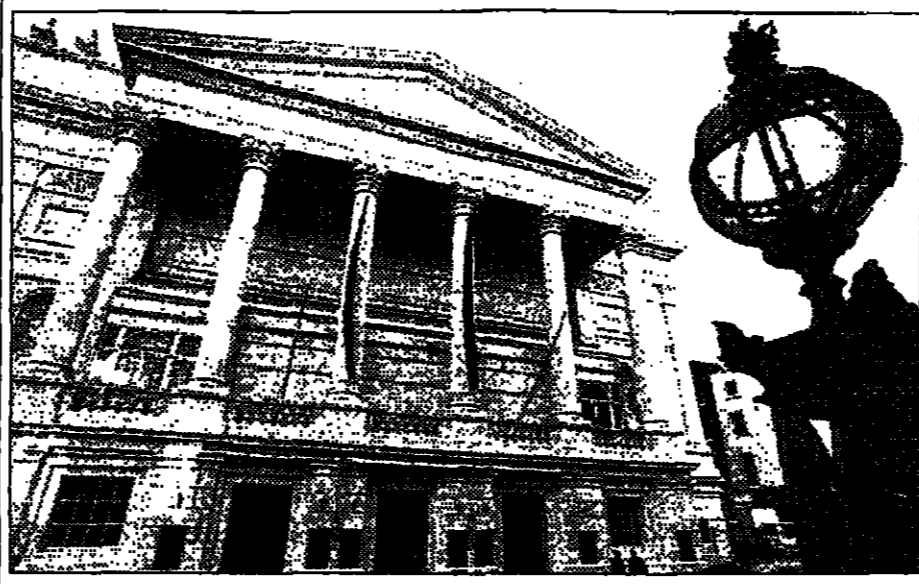
Mr Ainger said the pilots made their proposal on Saturday, February 17, two days after the Sea Empress ran aground at St Ann's Head at the mouth of Milford Haven estuary and before she went on the rocks for a second time, spilling almost half her cargo.

The pilots allegedly told the harbour authorities that there would be sufficient water under the ship to float her back out to open sea. However when the pilots made the suggestion by radio, the harbourmaster, Captain Mark Andrews, allegedly replied: "I agree with you, but there is a room full of men here saying 'No.'"

Mr Ainger said officials had decided instead to hold the ship in position, with the result that she was exposed to gale-force winds compounded by strong tides and currents.

The DoT declined to comment saying that any statement could prejudice the official inquiry.

Think-tank warns of bleak legacy of half-built monuments to millennium celebrations



Matching funds dearth may leave embarrassment of lottery riches

James Meikle, Mike Ellison and Maev Kennedy on fears over funding

BITAIN could become littered with half-built monuments to the millennium and the National Lottery, culture consultants warned yesterday.

McCann, Matthews and Millman said projects may be left unfinished as there were insufficient private or public funds to match grants paid for by the nation's weekly gamble.

The warning, in a report for the Institute of Welsh Affairs, coincided with an admission from the Arts Council for England, one of the main grant distributors, that other companies may be in the position of Sadler's Wells, the London theatre which has said it may have to forego a £30 million grant due to difficulties raising £9.5 million partnership funding.

The Cardiff-based consultancy's report said £2.6 billion of lottery awards had been committed or applied for by the end of December, with similar partnership funding needed to be secured.

By comparison, the Association for Business Sponsorship of the Arts estimated private sponsorship was up to £85 million a year. Many grant applications would not succeed, but it was hard to imagine where matching funds or support in kind would come from.

"Given the distributing bodies' rights to demand a return of funds should projects collapse, there is a real possibility of half-built projects being abandoned should the predicted partnership support fail to be achieved."

"An unlooked-for legacy of the lottery and millennium celebrations could be a series of building sites across the nation — bleak monuments to unrealistic ambitions."

The report, noting the different rules over partnership funding between distributing bodies, called for a framework that allowed maverick and inspirational visions to be achieved while avoiding half-finished projects.

The Arts Council said there were "rumblings" that other winners of lottery awards faced similar problems to Sadler's Wells. "We are aware that in the next few years it will be difficult. There has to be a finite amount of money that will go to the arts, whether it is lottery money or other funding."

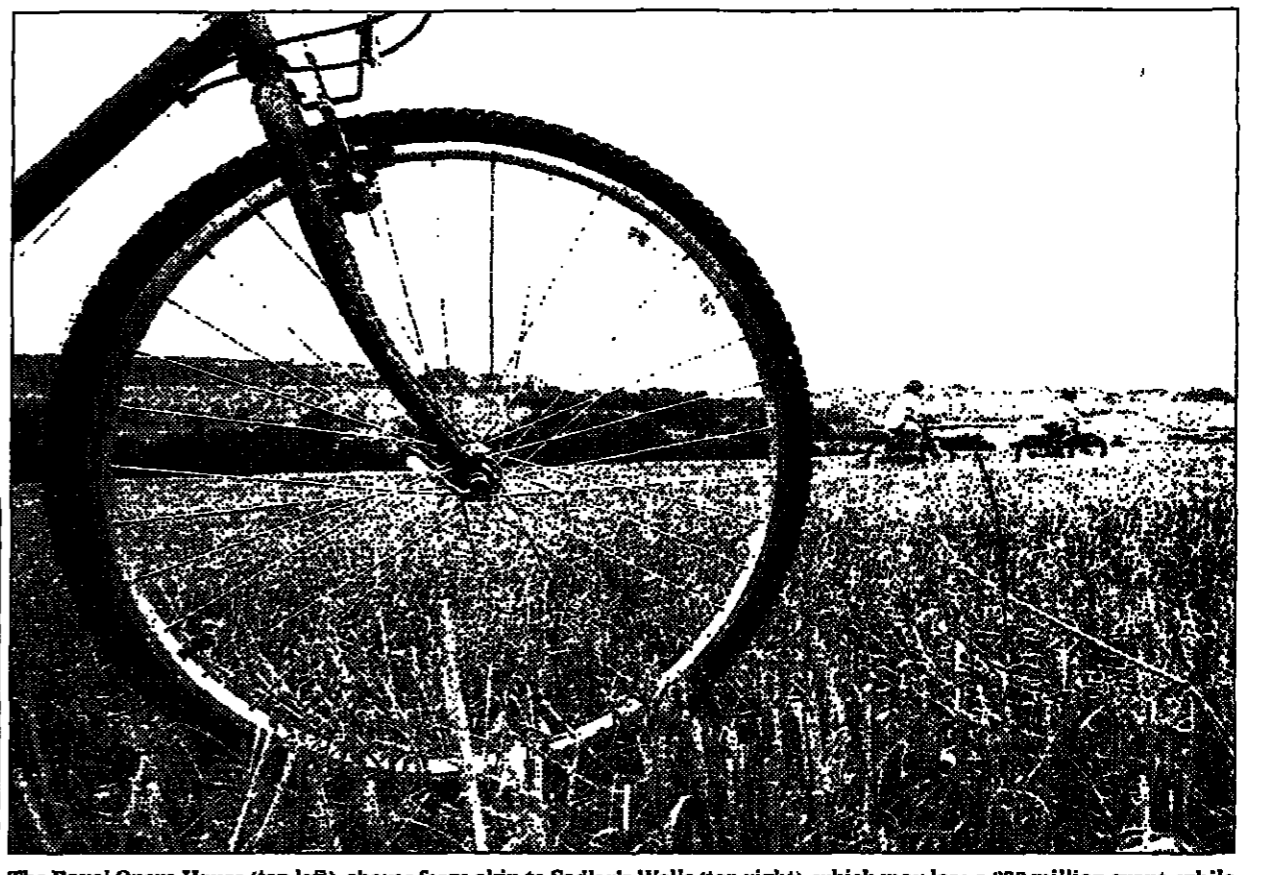
Kaith Cooper, director of corporate affairs at the Royal Opera House, said: "The people who give to the arts is a relatively small number. If all this new money is going to matching capital there is less revenue funding. You solve one problem by causing another."

Nicholas Serrot, director of the Tate Gallery, said: "There are quite a number of arts and heritage organisations knocking on the same doors. These are doors we have all knocked on in the past."

Other distributing bodies said they had not heard of problems. The lottery has generated £1.6 billion for "good causes", with over £1 billion already passed on in awards.

The National Heritage Department said the National Audit Office and Oflot (the lottery regulator) are monitoring the way money is used.

Distributing bodies had several options if organisations ran into difficulties. "They could look at business plans again; they could give more time; or they could stop the project. It will be decided very much on a case-by-case basis."



The Royal Opera House (top left), shares fears akin to Sadler's Wells (top right), which may lose a £30 million grant, while the well-funded National Cycle Network (above) is 'ahead of schedule' PHOTOGRAPHS: GARRY WEAVER, MARTIN ARGLES AND KENNETH SAUNDERS

News in brief

Attack on Ripper goes unreported

AN ATTEMPT to kill the Yorkshire Ripper, Peter Sutcliffe, in Broadmoor has not been reported to the police by hospital authorities, it emerged yesterday. The move is part of an apparent news clampdown at the top-security hospital after Friday night's attack in which inmate Paul Wilson, a convicted thief, almost garrotted Sutcliffe. The multiple killer was saved when fellow murderers Kenneth Erskine (the Stockwell Strangler) and Jamie Devitt intervened.

Thames Valley police confirmed that Broadmoor had not reported the attack: "We are surprised we have not been asked to investigate."

Man held for Briton's murder

POLICE in San Diego, California, have arrested a 24-year-old man, Paul Cain, on suspicion of murdering the British scientist Stanley Runicorn, aged 73, of the University of Alaska. Dr Runicorn, who pioneered development of radar in the second world war and later turned to "continental drift" theory, was found battered and strangled in a San Diego hotel room last December. Police allege that Cain, an amateur kick boxer staying at the YMCA opposite the hotel, used his feet to batter Dr Runicorn. He is due in court this week. — Christopher Reed in Los Angeles

BBC World expands into Asia

BBC WORLD, the 24-hour international news channel, is to expand in the Asian market after securing a new satellite system. Senior executives from the corporation will announce in India today that BBC World will be transmitted on the PAS-4 satellite in south Asia and the Middle East together with other global broadcasters, including its American rival, CNN.

The move will ensure the continued availability of BBC World in Asia following Star TV's decision to stop distributing the service on the southern beam of its satellite system from the end of March. — Andrew Culf

Drug murder suspects

DETECTIVES hunting the killers of three drug dealers who died in a gangland execution in Essex have drawn up a short list of four men as the principal suspects.

All have criminal records for past violence and are known to be heavy associates of the dealers — Anthony Tucker, aged 38, Craig Ruffe, aged 26, and Patrick Tate, aged 37 — who were shot dead on December 6 after being lured to a farm track at Rettendon for a "business meeting" with someone they trusted so much that all three went unarmed. Police say Tait, who had only been out of prison for six weeks when he was murdered, had crossed someone in an even bigger drugs operation. — Alan Watkins

Steve Wright back on Radio 2

FORMER Radio 1 disc jockey Steve Wright is to return to the BBC with two weekend slots on Radio 2, it was announced yesterday. The broadcaster will present a Saturday and Sunday morning show, plus a national film programme from March 30.

He joined Radio 1 in 1980 and became a cult attraction on Steve Wright in the Afternoon. He left in 1995 when his Breakfast Show slot was taken by Chris Evans. Media, G2, page 16

Projects at risk in hunt for aid

Kew Gardens: On paper the Kew Millennium Seed Bank, yet to launch its public appeal, has a wide gap to bridge between grant and project cost.

The proposal for a building on the National Trust's Wakehurst Place estate in West Sussex to preserve hundreds of thousands of plant species by collecting their seed, has won a £21 million Millennium Commission grant towards a total cost of £76.5 million. But the Kew Foundation, established by Kew Gardens to manage the project, said since the seed bank was global most of the cost would be born internationally.

Sarah McWhirter, for the foundation, said that with the project costing in detail the appeal has to raise £7.3 million, and companies like Glaxo, British Airways and British Nature are already on board, with a public appeal to be launched on May 31.

Natural History Museum: The London museum in South Kensington, which won a £6 million Heritage Lottery grant towards the £12 million cost of rebuilding its Earth Galleries in the old geological museum, had lined up its matching funding before the grant was made.

The largest single grant was £1 million from RTZ plc, while the Museums and Galleries Commission gave £300,000.

British Museum: The museum this week hopes to hear of the success of its millennium bid for £33 million for the Great Court project to build a new hub for the museum. A spokeswoman said: "We have no doubt that we can raise the matching funding, given this unique project, and the charity's supporters and the Bicycle Association will match the £5 million from the lottery being spent on organisation and planning. "We are ahead of schedule." Ms Freeman said.

Royal Opera House: The ROH in Covent Garden was granted £55 million towards its £157-million redevelopment plans seven months ago, and will receive another £23.5 million from the Arts Council's share of lottery money if it meets certain conditions.

The opera house has to raise the remaining £78.5 million itself. A spokesman said "it's a slow and laborious process."

The Tate Gallery: The gallery has spent two years working out where to find the money for its gallery of modern art at Bankside, on the south bank of the Thames. It found out four months ago that it would get £30 million from the Millennium Commission, leaving it £56 million to find.

Two double rollover jackpots bring big drop in cash for charities

DOUBLE rollover National Lottery jackpots severely dented charitable giving in December and January, according to figures published today.

The proportion of people giving to charity fell by 13 per cent in December and by 11 per cent in January. The January figure of 64 per cent making donations was the lowest recorded by the National Council for Voluntary Organisations since the lottery was launched in November 1994.

Lottery ticket sales rose by 25 and 50 per cent during December and January, coinciding with two double rollover jackpots of more than £40 million.

The council has already highlighted a 291 million per cent drop in donations to charities in the first year of the lottery. Income fell by £339 million, while grants from the National Lottery Charities Board totalled only £248 million.

The latest survey, conducted by NOP among 981 adults across Britain, found traditional fund-raising methods to be hardest hit. The proportion of respondents donating through charities' own raffles and lotteries fell from 30 to 14 per cent, and street collections dropped from 29 to 21 per cent.

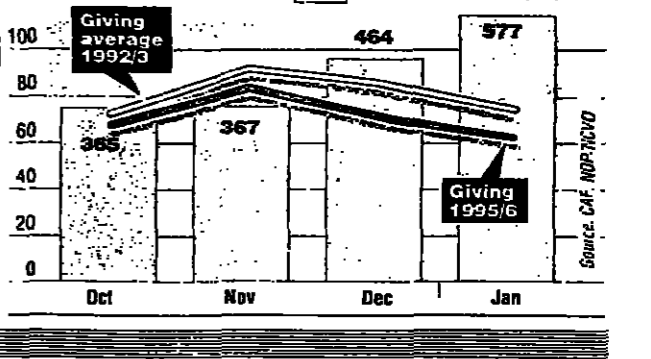
Last year the Home Office announced it was sponsoring research on the lot-

ter's impact on charitable organisations over a six-year period.

The NOP findings will give further ammunition to those who want to see jackpots capped. But Virginia Bottomley, the Heritage Secretary, has argued that big jackpots mean more funds for the good causes.

Four ticket holders will share in this week's £8.9 million jackpot. The winning numbers were: 2, 5, 7, 24, 35, and 44. The bonus ball was 30.

Charity donations in decline



Two costume dramas share 26 nominations to make the running for Bafta film honours

TWO costume dramas seem headed for success at this year's Bafta film awards, after amassing 26 nominations between them.

Sanna Thompson's adaptation of Jane Austen's Sense and Sensibility, which won seven Oscar nominations, secured 12 nominations from the British Academy of Film and Television Arts, including best film. Ms Thompson also competes for best screenplay and best actress.

The Madness of King George is in the running for 14 awards at the Bafta ceremony at the Theatre Royal in London on April 21. Nigel Hawthorne is nominated for best actor and Helen Mirren for best actress.

In the television awards, Colin Firth, Benjamin Whitrow and Jennifer Ehle are nominated for their roles in

the BBC1 adaptation of Jane Austen's Pride and Prejudice.

Best film: Usual Suspects, Madness of King George, Sense and Sensibility, Bride of Chamberlain, Land and Freedom, Madness of King George, Transportation.

Best actress: Nicole Kidman (To Die For), Helen Mirren (Madness of King George), Emma Thompson (Sense and Sensibility), Elizabeth Shue (Leaving Las Vegas), Sanna Thompson (Sense and Sensibility).

Best actor: Nicolas Cage (Leaving Las Vegas), Nigel Hawthorne (Madness of King George), Gavin Hastings (Jonathan Pryce), Massimo Troisi (Il Postino).

Best supporting actress: Joan Allen (Mulan), Mira Sorvino (Mighty Aphrodite), Elizabeth Spang (Sense and Sensibility), Kate Winslet (Sense and Sensibility).

Best supporting actor: Ian Holm (Madness of King George), Martin Landau (Il Postino), Alan Rickman (Sense and Sensibility), Tim Roth (The Firm).

Television: Best actress: Jennifer Ehle (Pride and Prejudice), Geraldine James (Band of Brothers), Helen Mirren (Pride and Prejudice), Julie Stevenson (Postman's Wife).

Best actor: Robbie Coltrane (Ice Age), Colin Firth (Pride and Prejudice), Robert Lindsay (John's Progress), Ian Richardson (The Final Cut), Benjamin Whitrow (Pride and Prejudice).

Best comedy performance: Martin Clunes (Men Behaving Badly), Judd Girsch (As Time Goes By), Joanna Lumley (Absolutely Fabulous), Richard Wilson (One Foot in the Grave).

Other TV nominations will be announced shortly.

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ETA stars at Basque carnival

Adela Gooch in San Sebastian

MORE than 150,000 people are expected to vote for a party that condones the use of violence to achieve a separate Basque state when Spain goes to the polls next Sunday. The party's affiliated guerrilla group ETA is responsible for assassinating two men during the campaign and is holding two more hostages.

Herri Batasuna, the political wing of ETA, could get about 12 per cent of the vote in the Basque country, according to a poll published yesterday, down from 15 per cent at the last election but still a vociferous number.

The party had no difficulty filling San Sebastian's football stadium at the weekend with 35,000 people for a campaign rally. Lawyers, doctors and teachers at the rally saw no contradiction between a middle-class lifestyle and their support for an organisation proposing a radical left-wing model for a future independent Basque state.

"Violence is a regression exerted by the Spanish state and its occupying army here," said a well-dressed woman.

"I'm a liberal professional. I'm comfortably off but I still believe in a socialist Basque state," she added, settling back to enjoy the show.

The rally began with a parade of people in traditional Basque costume and ended with hooded ETA members running on to the pitch.

In between, two mounted knights rode past saluting the crowd, troops in 19th century Basque uniforms fired off a round and small children stood on the podium, where oil lamps showed Basque prisoners the way home.

Five masked people burned the stadium's Spanish and French flags as the crowd chanted "long live militant ETA," and held up a huge banner with the ETA logo.

Large placards bearing photographs of the 545 ETA members in jail were carried into the stadium by their families as a giant screen showed film of Franco's troops charging Basque demonstrators.

It was the best choreographed event of the campaign so far, as befits an organisation estimated to be spending 90 million pesetas (£274,000) a day.

The money comes from kidnap ransoms, extortion and drug trafficking, but only the best public face was on show at the weekend. There were fewer of the violent demonstrations organised most weekends by young ETA supporters in Basque towns. "It would be bad for publicity," said one Basque journalist.

"What worries me is not so much that Herri Batasuna can organise a rally like this. They are a disciplined organisation with highly motivated supporters. What worries me is that they succeed in getting a disproportionate amount of attention," said Jaime Mayor Oreja, leader in the Basque country of the conservative Popular Party, which is expected to win the election.

"The problem stems from the failure of Basque democratic forces to present a united front."

But Herri Batasuna argues symbolism. "You cannot solve a political problem with repression," said Carlos Rodriguez, a member of the party executive.

According to Karmelo Martin, a member of the Basque parliament, the first step must be a referendum.

But the party no longer controls the extreme nationalists. ETA is in the hands of a shadowy, young radical leadership to whom the party is subservient and with whom any rapprochement is considered virtually impossible by democratic politicians.

ETA was a small group, but was holding Basques to ransom, said Mr Mayor Oreja.

Saturday's rally ended with symbolism. As ETA members walked on to the pitch, they unveiled a flag of their illegal organisation and superimposed it on the Basque flag.

The conservative People's Party has a 10 per cent lead over the ruling Socialists, according to national polls yesterday.

They suggest the party will secure up to 42 per cent of the vote, making it likely to form a majority government, while the socialist vote slumps to 31 per cent.



Fighting talk... A masked ETA man raises a clenched fist at the San Sebastian campaign rally, attended by 35,000 people

PHOTOGRAPH: ANTONIO ALONSO

EU blueprint likely to fan the flames of disunion

The latest attempt to propel integration is likely to spark renewed angst in London, reports John Palmer in Brussels

THE debate about Britain's role in the European Union intensifies this week when the Commission unveils a radical new blueprint for closer political integration to help the EU prepare for a future in which it will double its membership.

The European Commission wants the Maastricht treaty review conference — which begins next month — to extend majority voting, to curb the use of the national veto and to allow countries which wish to integrate faster to do so.

In a paper which commissioners will adopt formally on Wednesday, the Commission says the conference may be "possibly the last chance" to reform the 15-nation EU before enlargement.

Under the theme "A Europe for citizens", the paper says it is essential for the EU "to respond more effectively to its internal needs and have a stronger presence in international affairs" while noting that, at present, "the union does not have the means to achieve these ambitions".

The proposals are more ambitious than expected and

conference until a new and, they hope, more flexible British government has been elected.

The differences of approach between Britain and the rest of the EU are further underlined by Swedish proposals to make full employment goals a part of the Maastricht treaty itself. Britain, which opted out of the Maastricht social chapter, believes the plan would encourage greater economic interventionism by the EU.

To give the EU a sharper European Union operations brought more under direct EU control.

Like the larger states — including Britain — the Commission accepts that the votes each member state wields in the Council of Ministers should in future reflect more accurately the different national populations. Smaller EU countries may accept some change if the idea of reducing the number of commissioners from the current 21 is abandoned.

One particularly sensitive

With the Maastricht review conference to be launched on March 29, an Austrian government study shows a large measure of agreement on about 20 key policy issues. The British government's unqualified rejection of more majority voting, any extension of the European parliament's powers or any changes to the existing national monopoly over justice and foreign policy cooperation, is not shared by anyone else.

But among the other 14 members, problems remain. Apart from differences between the bigger and smaller member states over institutional reform, the Nordic countries remain guarded about moves to give the EU a bigger role in foreign, security and, in particular, defence policies. But Brussels-based diplomats believe a compromise among the 14 will emerge later in the year.

Much will depend on the extent to which France and Germany can hammer out a united stand.

They agree on most issues but are still apart on the future role of the European parliament, the extent to which internal security matters should be transferred to the EU and the detailed changes which should be made to foreign, security and defence policies.

Big issues

FIVE key issues will determine the Maastricht treaty review conference's success or failure:

□ **The veto:** A majority of the 15 EU governments, the Commission and the European parliament insist the national veto must be eased as new members join. They want more issues decided by majority voting. Larger states also want to reallocate countries' votes in the Council of Ministers.

□ **The pillars:** Maastricht set up three decision-making "pillars". Some issues are decided under European Community procedures and laws involving the Commission and European parliament, Pillar One. But other matters including foreign and security policy, Pillar Two, and internal security and justice, Pillar Three, are decided by national governments. Most EU states want to see some internal security questions brought fully within EU decision-making and majority voting extended. Ultimately they want the three pillars to merge.

□ **Foreign and security policy:** A majority of EU states want to see greater majority voting in foreign affairs and external security, although the Nordic states have reservations and Britain is adamantly opposed. □ **European defence:** The original treaty set out the goal of not only a common European defence policy but a fully integrated defence system. There is very little agreement on whether and how this should be achieved. □ **European parliament:** There are 23 different law-making procedures involving the European parliament, each depending on the subject being dealt with. There is much support for reducing these to three — co-decision, consultation and information.

international profile, the Commission wants more foreign and security policy decisions taken by majority vote.

Unlike the French government — which wants less of government to appoint a full-time EU foreign policy supreme — the Commission would prefer to share responsibilities in this area with the rotating presidency of the Council of Ministers.

However, on defence the Commission, France and Germany all want some Western

The proposals are more ambitious than expected and are certain to provoke bitter opposition from the Prime Minister and the British government

issue for Britain is the Commission's wish to see some aspects of internal security and judicial co-operation — including immigration and political asylum — pass from decision by national governments to the EU.

But the Commission accepts that in this area — and perhaps for some equally delicate questions of tax policy — a special system of "super qualified majority voting" should apply to reassure nervous governments.

Chirac linked to phone bugging

Alex Duval Smith in Paris

PRESIDENT Jacques Chirac was named yesterday in a phone tapping scandal involving a leading lawyer and a British journalist.

The revelation in the Journal du Dimanche indicates that phone tapping was common practice across the political spectrum in the 1980s and early 1990s. The late Socialist president, Francois Mitterrand, has been linked to more

than 2,000 cases of bugging.

The newspaper claims to have obtained the transcript of a conversation in March 1987, between John Izbeli of the Daily Telegraph and the lawyer, Jacques Vergès, who has represented many controversial clients, including the international terror suspect known as Carlos the Jackal.

The newspaper says the secret service phone tap could only have been authorised by Mr Chirac, then prime minister, or his cabinet secretary, who is now his adviser at the Elysée Palace.

But a security expert said yesterday the phone tap was probably legal because the recorded conversation centred on a terrorist suspect.

A July 1991 law stipulates that wiretapping may be carried out only in cases involving national security, the safeguarding of information essential to France's scientific and economic interests, and the prevention of terrorism and organised crime.

But the revelation has raised questions about how many other interceptions not linked to terrorist cases may have been investigated by Mr Chirac as prime minister.

The Elysée refused to comment yesterday as it became clear that even if blatantly illegal, phone taps were revealed, politicians are protected from legal action by a procedural technicality.

Mr Chirac, his adviser Maurice Ulrich and the then interior minister, Charles Pasqua, would escape prosecution thanks to a split between left and right in the judiciary. Leftwing judges argue that phone taps infringe laws protecting personal freedom, under which cases can be brought up to 10 years after the event. Rightwing lawyers say phone tapping is a breach of privacy legislation, under which cases must be brought within three years.

The newspaper linked phone taps between 1987 and 1993 to socialist and rightwing prime ministers, including Michel Rocard, Edith Cresson, Pierre Bergovoy and Edouard Balladur. The bugging had been carried out before and after new laws in 1991 limited the practice.

Some of the recorded conversations were linked to terrorist cases or legal action against newspapers but one — during Mr Chirac's prime ministership from 1995 to 1998 — concerned a dinner invitation.

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Chancellor Kohl

Bonn tries to calm fears it will not meet the single currency criteria

GERMAN leaders insist they are sticking to both the timetable and tough financial criteria for Europe's single currency, as concern grows that their country will not qualify to launch the euro in 1999.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl told a rally at the weekend that preserving stability was Germany's main challenge, adding: "That is why we won't make any easy compromises on either entry criteria or the timetable for currency union."

Economists and political analysts are increasingly sceptical that many European Union members will be able to meet the tough criteria for budget deficits, debt and inflation that will determine which countries launch the euro.

Even Germany, which has exhorted other EU members to get their finances in order by 1997 to qualify, has acknowledged its public deficit will exceed the ceiling of 3 per cent of GDP this year.

The Bild am Sonntag newspaper reported that Germany would overshoot the target again next year, with a shortfall just above 4 per cent of GDP — up from the 3.5 per cent forecast for 1996.

It cites a finance ministry report that falling tax revenue stemming from Germany's economic slowdown and its plan to cut record unemployment would push the public deficit to DM150 billion (£67 billion).

The finance minister,

Theo Waigel, dismissed the newspaper report as "pure speculation" and insisted Bonn was sticking to the final 1999 start date for the final stage of economic and monetary union (EMU).

The magazine Focus said finance ministry officials were already preparing for the event that only Luxembourg would qualify for the single currency on time. It said they were taking the view that EMU could exist from 1999, but have no members. — Reuter.

News in brief

Copts shot dead in Egypt

Suspected Muslim militants gunned down seven people in a village in southern Egypt at the weekend in renewed violence that has left 23 people dead in the province of Assuit in less than two weeks.

The gunmen opened fire in the main market place of a Coptic Christian village near Badari, 210 miles south of Cairo, on Saturday. The dead were five Copts and two Muslims, police said. The gunmen escaped. — AP.

Jobs protest

Civil servants in Ontario start an open-ended strike today over government cuts, writes *Claire Trevena* in Toronto. More than 100,000 people have staged a protest demonstration in the industrial city of Hamilton at the weekend.

Bahrain blast

A blast ripped through a car owned by Nabeely al-Hamer, editor-in-chief of the Bahrain newspaper Al-Ayam, at the weekend, but he escaped injury. Anti-government activists claimed responsibility for the blast. — AP.

Dini's wild card

The weekend decision of Italy's caretaker prime minister,

Lamberto Dini, to form a new centrist political force has thrown a wild card into the campaign for the elections on April 21. The country already has more than 30 political parties. — Reuter.

Turtle's odyssey
A sea turtle called Rosita released in California has turned up in Japan, a third of the way across the world and farther than any other sea creature has been known to swim, according to US researchers. — AP.

Suicide patrol

Security guards will begin patrolling San Francisco's Golden Gate Bridge on April 1 to help prevent people from leaping off the well-known landmark to their deaths. More than 1,000 people have committed suicide in that way since the bridge was opened in 1937. — AP.

Star meets Menem

The pop star Madonna, criticised by many Argentines for taking the starring role in the film of the musical Evita, about the late Eva Peron, has finally met President Carlos Menem at his official residence. Mr Menem, a Peronist who had until now given the film's crew a cold shoulder, also met the British director Alan Parker. — Reuter.

Turks reject deal with Islamists

Chris Nuttall in Ankara

AN ALLIANCE between two mainstream centre-right parties to resolve the Turkish political crisis is back on the cards after the collapse of coalition talks at the weekend which represented the Islamic Welfare Party's best hope of power.

Welfare rocked the secular establishment two months ago when led the polls in a general election, taking 158 seats in the new parliament.

Its leader, Necmettin Erbakan, railed at the media, academics and politicians on Saturday for blocking it in the name of secularism.

"These people say they listen to ideas, but not if they're Islamic ones. This is not secularism, it is enmity against religion," he said.

The leader of the centre-right Motherland Party, Mesut Yilmaz, had come under tremendous pressure in the media and even from members of his own party not to do a coalition deal with Welfare. He was accused of selling the principle of the secular republic, set up by Kemal Ataturk in the 1920s, for the sake of power.

"Do not bury your country, your party and yourself in darkness for a prime ministry of a few months," said his bitter rival, the caretaker prime

minister Tansu Ciller. "This would be a very serious mistake and the country would pay for this in the coming months and years."

The hysteria was prompted by the prospect of Mr Erbakan becoming the first Islamic prime minister in the republic's history, as part of a deal with Mr Yilmaz in which they would take turns in office.

The country has an overwhelmingly Muslim population but religion has been kept separate from government.

During the election campaign Mr Erbakan spoke of realigning Turkey with the Islamic world and Muslim practices, putting in question its Nato membership, its customs union with the European Union, and future foreign investment.

Mr Yilmaz said their coalition talks founded on the division of ministries. Welfare, which has proposed an Islamic currency, common market and the end of bank interest, wanted some economic posts and the religious affairs portfolio.

"Leaving this to a party with such a different view of secularism could alter the whole governance of our state," said Mr Yilmaz.

● Venhi Koc, Turkey's richest tycoon, died yesterday aged 94.

“Spencer Tracey didn't go to any school. Brando did, then he forgot everything he learned and became a hit. All I did was just put some animation in. They thought: 'My Gawd, the kid knows what he's doing.'”
Mickey Rooney on the secrets of acting

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سكنا من الاصل

Chameleon Pat dons a bandanna

Martin Walker in Mesa, Arizona, finds the quick-shot rightwinger changing wardrobe to rope in the Western vote

SQUINTING under the brim of his black stetson at the vast array of Colt revolvers, Winchesters, repeaters and all the other guns that won the West, Pat Buchanan is seeking to win it all again by playing a calculated game of cowboys.

of gun control is a steady aim. "I'm gonna be in Tombstone tomorrow, folks. Get myself a gunslinger's outfit," he goes on in a characteristic shift from deadly serious to disarming humour. "And then we can start measuring old Bob Dole and Steve Forbes for a couple of tumblers I'm planning out on Boot Hill."

his city slicker rivals for the Republican presidential nomination. In his private life, Mr Buchanan is a Chardonnay-sipping cat lover with a profound distaste for hunting and a preference for hearing his Mass in Latin. Out here in Apache country, with the Arizona primary beginning to look like another surprise victory tomorrow, the Jesuit-educated wordsmith, horn and raised in Washington DC, is acting like John Wayne.

"They got the nerve to call me an extremist. But those federal bureaucrats are the outliers. That out-of-control Bill Clinton federal government is the extremist round here," Mr Buchanan told the cheering crowds at campaign stops all around Arizona. "I believe in the constitution, the right to bear arms, the right to govern ourselves, fought for by our brave forebears at Lexington and Concord 230 years ago."

'And the moment I lift my hand to swear my oath of office as president, that New World Order will come crashing down'



Bible Belt he stressed religion and abortion. The man who won last week's New Hampshire primary by talking about jobs and trade policies and wearing a dark suit has become the gun-loving libertarian patriot who will defend American freedoms against the cosmopolitan bankers.

me tell you, my friends, this New World Order means the steady, slow surrender of the sovereignty and freedom for which our Founding Fathers fought and died, to the institutions of an embryonic world government. "The UN is the political arm, the IMF is its Federal Reserve, the World Bank is its foreign aid arm, and the World Trade Organisation of the Gatt tells us what we have got to do in foreign trade. "And the moment I lift my hand to swear my oath of office as president, that New World Order will come crashing down."

headed by Russian troops. But Mr Buchanan has warned at every campaign stop in Arizona of the menace of the New World Order — "They will not rest till our freedoms are stubbed out." At gun shows, ranchers' rallies and miners' trade union meetings he has demanded that the federal government and the environmentalists should "take their cotton-picking hands off our private property and out of our business."

Bombs could push Israelis to opposition

Derek Brown in Jerusalem

THE slaughter by suicide bombers in Jerusalem and in Ashkelon yesterday has cast a huge shadow over Israel's forthcoming general election.

main political camps know the bombers have entered the fray, and that voters will again be asking whether the price of peace is too high.

For the prime minister, Shimon Peres, the renewal of the Islamist militant campaign — after five months of relative calm — was a nightmare waiting to become a reality.

Mr Peres said there was no miracle cure for suicide attacks. "I know deep in my heart that on the way to win peace, we shall have to pay a heavy toll for it," he said.

Until yesterday Mr Peres was running between 15 and 20 per cent ahead of his main rival, Binyamin Netanyahu of the rightwing Likud party, which opposes the Israel-Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) peace accords.

For the PLO chairman, Yasser Arafat, the Islamists pose a more urgent challenge. He will be under pressure from Israel to use all his intelligence and security apparatus in the self-rule territories to smash the bombers' organisation.

But Mr Peres's lead is not matched by voters' party preferences. Most polls show his Labour party ahead of Likud, but only by a slender margin.

He will be under pressure from Israel to use all his intelligence and security apparatus in the self-rule territories to smash the bombers' organisation.

The dichotomy could be vital to the outcome of the May 29 polls, in which for the first time Israelis will be voting directly for a prime minister, and for their party of choice in the national list system. The winner of the prime ministerial vote, irrespective of how his party fares, will be in pole position to form a coalition from the plethora of smaller factions.

Most observers attribute the Mr Peres's lead to continued emotional support for his predecessor, Yitzhak Rabin, who was shot dead by a Jewish zealot last November 4.

Mr Rabin is being projected by Labour as a martyr for peace. But most Israelis know that the driving force behind the deal with the Palestinians was Mr Peres. As such, he is deeply distrusted by those on the right and in the uncertain centre.

For more than a year, Mr Arafat has played cat-and-mouse with the Islamists, alternately confronting and then offering co-operation to them. Most of the Hamas leadership has been arrested, though in recent weeks the mood has shifted back to reconciliation. Last week, 14 Hamas activists were released from Palestinian prisons to mark the Muslim festival of Eid al-Fitr.

Yesterday Mr Peres cut short reporters who asked him about the electoral implications of the bomb attacks in Jerusalem and Ashkelon, in which 25 people died. Asked about potential damage to his campaign, he said: "That's the last question you should have asked today."

Since the last bus-bombing, on August 31, Mr Arafat's strategy has worked in his favour, and in Israel's interest. During the toll of violence, the PLO leader managed to neutralise the Islamist challenge in the Palestinian elections in January, and win grudging acknowledgement from Israel that he had at last imposed some order in the autonomous territories. Now he has to start the process all over again.

Mr Netanyahu and other opposition leaders also insisted there should be no politicking with tragedy. But the

Leader comment, page 8



Torn apart... An Israeli woman sobs near the wreckage of a bus bombed in Jerusalem yesterday. PHOTOGRAPH BY BRIAN HENDERSON

Clinton goes to UN as Cuba downs planes

News in brief

THE United States called for an emergency meeting of the United Nations Security Council yesterday after Cuban fighters shot down two small American civilian planes flown by Cuban exiles. President Bill Clinton, who has sought a thaw in relations with Havana, demanded an immediate explanation from the Cuban authorities. He said: "I condemn this action in the strongest possible terms."

Cuba defended its action, saying they were "pirate" planes which had violated its air space despite direct warnings from Havana.

The Clinton administration has taken limited steps in relaxing the US embargo against Cuba in the past month, but Saturday's incident is likely to prompt it to halt its cautious opening. It is still trying to find out whether two Cessna light aircraft were shot down in international or Cuban airspace. A third plane evaded Cuba's MIG fighters and returned to Florida. Four people, all Miami residents of Cuban descent, are missing.

The three Cessnas belonged to Brothers to the Rescue, a Miami-based Cuban exile group which has begun goading Havana with flights over Cuba. The Cuban government has responded by warning that it would feel free to shoot down any plane regarded as hostile.

Several Cuban exile groups advocate direct action. Last month US customs officials intercepted a fishing boat carrying arms and five anti-Castro protesters belonging to a paramilitary group called the United Liberation Commandos. — *Mark Tran, New York*

Russian troops pull back
OFFICIALS in Ingushetia said yesterday that they had reached agreement with the Russian army on its withdrawal of troops from their tiny republic, which borders breakaway Chechnya. Earlier, the Russians had continued their four-day bombardment of the Ingush village of Arshity, where about 2,000 Chechens had taken refuge.

The Ingush president, Ruslan Aushev — a former Soviet general — said the fighting there began when Chechen rebels hiding near Arshity ambushed a Russian force trying to reach Bamut, a rebel Chechen stronghold which has been under Russian attack for months. The shelling killed four and wounded 10 civilians in the village. — *AP, Nazran*

Opposition leaders held
AT LEAST 200 people were injured in clashes and gun battles yesterday in the Bangladesh capital Dhaka and other towns after the government detained four opposition leaders. A protest strike against the return to power of the prime minister Begum Khaleda Zia, in a general election boycotted by the opposition, began on Saturday, when two died and 70 were injured in clashes. Those arrested on Saturday night and early yesterday were Begum Matia Chowdhury and Mohammad Nasim of the Awami League, the main opposition party, and Anwar Hossain Manju and Moudud Ahmed of the Jatiya Party. Mr Manju is editor of Ittefaq, Bangladesh's best-selling newspaper. They can be held for 30 days without trial. Police also raided the homes of the Awami leaders Amir Hossain Amu, Tofayel Ahmed, Abdur Razzak and Suranjit Sengupta but could not find them, opposition sources said. — *Agencies, Dhaka*

Colombian pipeline bombed
SUSPECTED members of the rebel National Liberation Army (ELN) have blown up Colombia's second-biggest oil pipeline, causing a large spill, in the north-western province of Antioquia, a local radio network reported at the weekend. It did not say how much crude oil been spilled. The ELN, the country's second-biggest guerrilla movement, has blown up the pipeline twice before this year in its long-running campaign to discourage foreign investment in the oil industry. — *Reuters, Bogota*

Oil set to grease palm of Equatorial Guinea's dictator

'This president has kept all the money from cocoa and now he'll do the same with the oil and the country will continue in misery.'
Chris McGreal reports from Malabo

THE mayor of Malabo was at his French lesson 10 days ago, when President Teodoro Nguema's brother burst in, pointed to an unintelligible string of letters on the blackboard and read them as subversion.

turning an evil eye on the tiny African country. The government is trying to expel the chief UN representative for allegedly plotting with the opposition. Foreigners need permission to move around.

He marched the mayor, Victoriano Bolekia Bolekia and four other students to the police station. "They told us to take off our shoes and they beat our feet with electrical cables one by one until none of us could walk," Mr Bolekia said. "They wanted me to make a statement admitting I was preparing a coup with the French and that the letters were a secret code. I told them I knew nothing concerning a coup."

Now Mr Obiang and his clique believe there is more reason than ever for vigilance. Equatorial Guinea is about to join the ranks of the oil-rich. Within months the American Mobil oil company will start pumping hundreds of thousands of pounds a day into the country's empty coffers. Mobil and the regime expect the amount to rise as new wells open.

water. Life expectancy is just 46 years. But Mr Bolekia, the country's first opposition mayor, is sceptical. Like many of Mr Obiang's detractors, he fears the oil money will reinforce the privilege of a regime built around a clan originating from Mongomo, the president's home town. The clan occupies two-thirds of top positions in government and the army, and has become rich in the process.

same with the oil and the country will continue in poverty and misery," Mr Bolekia said. "They'll keep arresting and torturing people and seeing coup plots because all that money will make them even more paranoid."

The obsession with coups is neither new nor without reason. The first president after independence, Francisco Macias Nguema, liked to be called his country's "Unique Miracle". A botched coup in 1969 led to a decade of imprisonment, torture and murder of tens of thousands of real and imagined opponents.

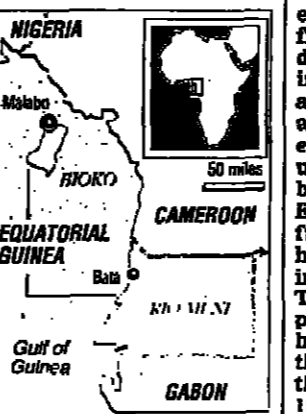
putsch, put his uncle on trial and shot him. Mr Obiang calls it the "liberty coup", but many would disagree. Political murders are now rare, mainly because most of the regime's active opponents are in exile. But the most unlikely conspiracies, often under foreign direction, are still regularly "uncovered". They are usually an excuse to round up and torture dissenters, or to take over someone else's business interests.

"This money is going to transform the country," Mr Obiang said. "The money will go above all to the priority sectors, namely education, health, infrastructure." "We shall be the Kuwait of Africa," the culture minister, Agustin Nse Nfumu, said.

The oil revolution could indeed transform a society with so few phone lines that the 14-page directory lists subscribers by their first names. The largest town, Bata, is mostly without electricity and running

The terror wrecked the economy. Production of the financial lifeblood, cocoa, dwindled almost to nothing. Nigerian workers fled and locals were rounded up as forced labour, but the economic implosion continued. Macias compensated by ransoming foreigners. Europeans were prevented from leaving until they handed over £20,000. During the decade of slaughter, Teodoro Obiang served the president, his uncle, as head of the prison next to the presidential palace, and then defence minister. In 1979, Macias's nephew led a

"We haven't seen any of the oil money yet so we asked the company to finance the embassy with the taxes it will pay to the treasury. Then we discount this money from their taxes," he said.



The president, however, is unrepentant. "I wasn't in town that day so I don't know what it's all about. But the mayor, in his important po-

Grace goes to the altar
THE flamboyant model and singer Grace Jones married a 21-year-old Turk, her former bodyguard Atilla Altunbayrak, in Rio de Janeiro on Saturday after taking part in the city's carnival, local newspapers reported. They said his Jones, reportedly married twice before, wore a white lace bustier and figure-hugging white trousers for the ceremony, performed by a Presbyterian minister in a private house before about 50 guests. — *Reuters, Rio de Janeiro*

Tinnitus Problems?
If you suffer from Tinnitus and experience symptoms such as ringing in the ears or buzzing, hissing, whistling or other sounds, you should know about a new book: *The Complete Guide to Tinnitus*. This book contains the latest information on Tinnitus — what causes unwanted noises, how to deal with them and how to protect yourself from hearing Tinnitus symptoms. The book gives you facts on the latest natural and medical remedies which can bring lasting relief from unwanted ringing and irritating sounds in your ears. You will learn all about new treatments and find out how and why they work. You'll discover how to protect yourself against Tinnitus, what drugs are recommended and how diet can be effective. You'll also discover how Tinnitus masking works, what other disorders are connected with Tinnitus and which foods can help you to hear better. Many people are putting up with irritating Tinnitus problems because they are not aware of new treatments and the welcome relief that is available. ● THE COMPLETE GUIDE TO TINNITUS. To order send your name, address and book title with payment (cheque or Visa/Mastercard with expiry date) of £9.95 which includes postage and handling to *Carroll & Gower, Dept. Tn 4, Alresford, nr. Colchester, Essex CO7 8AP, or telephone their 24-hour order line on 01206 825600 (quoting reference Tn 4 1). Allow up to 14 days for delivery. You may return the book any time within three months for a full refund if not satisfied.*

A vote for principle

Scott must not be shelved

CONSERVATIVES always say that they believe both in the sovereignty of parliament and in the responsibility of the individual. Yet each of these ancient principles is on the line in the Scott debate today. The report is damning about the way that both were systematically abused during the arms to Iraq affair. But the Government's conclusion is that Scott's findings do not matter sufficiently to justify even a substantive vote of the House of Commons, let alone a vote against the Conservative whip. This is an outrageous position to adopt. No one who has read the Scott report, and particularly sections D4, dealing with the Government's public statements about arms export policy, and G13, concerning the preparation of public interest immunity certificates, can honestly accept it. The Government's treatment of Parliament over Scott amounts to a political cover-up. That is why no true Conservative should support the Government when the vote is taken at 10 o'clock this evening.

The fundamental issue in the Scott Report is that the public and Parliament were misled about government policy on exports to Iraq during the 1980s. As a direct result of this policy, three men very nearly went to prison in the Matrix Churchill case. On the adjacent page, Geoffrey Robertson QC explains how this concealment, as perpetrated by the Attorney General Sir Nicholas Lyell, threatened both the cause of justice in these individual cases and undermines the more general integrity of the nation's chief law officer. Yet the concealment as applied to Parliament was even more sustained and strikes at the foundations of accountable parliamentary government.

Scott says that "the answers to parliamentary questions in both Houses of Parliament failed to inform Parliament of the state of Government policy". This failure followed "inevitably" from the decision of three ministers (of whom William Waldegrave is the only one still in office) not to publicise the change in export guidelines in 1989. The over-riding reason was "a fear of strong public opposition" and its effect on British trading interests. Mr Waldegrave is accused of making statements which were "untrue" on the basis of facts known directly to him. These are only a few of the critical comments about his conduct others include "untrue", "not accurate", "jarring", "plainly inapposite", "sophistry" and "bound to be misleading".

The result, concludes Scott, is that the Government's statements in 1989 and 1990 about export guidelines to Iraq "consistently failed" to comply with ministerial obligations to tell the truth to Parliament. These obligations, as set out in Questions of Procedure for Ministers, stress that "each minister" is responsible to Parliament for the conduct of his department and that a minister should give Parliament, including its select committees, and the public as full information as possible. Mr Waldegrave was therefore personally responsible for the untrue and misleading statements which he made to the House of Commons and was seriously in breach of his undertakings, whether or not he did so knowingly or duplicitously.

MPs today must decide whether Scott matters or not. The essence of the Government's position is that it does not. If the Government gets through this evening, then ministers seem to believe that will be an end to the matter. Scott and his findings, charges, and all his long work will be history. It makes you wonder what MPs actually think that they are in Parliament for. If ever a party says one thing and does another, it is the Conservatives. The issue is in the hands of their backbenchers tonight. If, unlike ministers, they accept their responsibilities when it matters then the nation will acclaim them for it.

The terror returns

But Peres has to persevere

THE SPECIAL HORROR of the terrorists' bomb is only heightened when it shatters a period of apparent peace. The Israeli people are reeling now from the same sense of double shock which hit Britain two weeks ago. Not only was the bomb on Jaffa Road devastating in its destruction of human life, but it came after a six-month lull in Hamas activity during which there were hopes that the Islamist movement might be shifting away from the use of terror. The questions now being asked in Jerusalem are similar to those that have been asked in Britain. Was this return to violence in any degree provoked by mistaken decisions taken by the government? How will it affect the peace process? Does it indicate divisions within the terrorist movement's own ranks... and will there be more bombs?

On the face of it the Hamas bombing merely delivered the "response" which had been threatened after the Israeli assassination of the movement's "engineer" Yahya Ayyash on January 5. The Israeli action was regrettably short-sighted, satisfying an all too familiar instinct for revenge without regard for its longer strategic effect. Yet there were still grounds for believing that the tacit Hamas truce would hold. The Cairo talks had only just failed to produce agreement on Hamas participation in the first-ever Palestinian elections. Earlier this month a Hamas spokesperson, while reiterating that the Jihad continued, said that it might be "suspended". He also stressed that Hamas operated over a wide range of non-military activities and was "not obsessed with the concept of war".

If Hamas — or a more militant element within it — has now resumed operations, the motive is unlikely to have been just tit-for-tat revenge. Here the British parallel is reversed. It would not be because the peace process is lagging behind that the bombs have been planted but because it is going so fast. Whatever the flaws in the Palestinian elections, they have to a large extent validated the PLO hegemony. Shimon Peres, fortified by his personal polls since the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin, has advanced the election date to May, seeking a new mandate for peace. The "final status" talks with the PLO are due to start in the same month. Only last week one respected Israeli commentator reported that a draft blueprint for these talks would allow for the creation of a Palestinian state.

Mr Peres said yesterday that he must carry on: there was the risk of terror whether or not he continued the search for peace. His task, racing against the electoral clock, is to convince the Israeli public not to be driven by anger or fear into the rejectionist camp. It will not be easy but he, and Israel, has no choice.

"The nauseating tale of Scott-ish power and cynicism junkies... Too-curling"



Truthspotting

From the diggers of Deep Holes
DUE TO ARRIVE HOUSE OF COMMONS 26:02:96

Letters to the Editor

Why Sir Nicholas Lyell is wrong

ON JULY 19, 1994 I gave evidence to the Scott inquiry to the Scott inquiry that rebuts the argument that the Attorney General, Sir Nicholas Lyell, was justified in the line he took regarding public interest immunity (PII). I included material to the same effect in the second supplement to my textbook *Statutory Interpretation* (2nd edn.).

In his own evidence, Sir Nicholas said, citing *Conway v Rimmer* (1968), that where documents fall into a class that has been recognised by the courts as attracting PII, the relevant minister is under a duty to refuse disclosure of the document. In fact, this was not decided in that case, and such an idea was never hinted at in the five judgments of a highly distinguished court.

Sir Nicholas's view turns the principle of PII inside out. Under *Conway v Rimmer* the courts played little part in it. It is the minister who certifies that disclosing the document would damage the public interest. The courts accepted his certificate without question. Then the House of Lords reversed the position and held that, if the minister's certificate were challenged, the court should decide where the balance of public interest lay.

Lord Reid said, in words tailored to fit the Matrix Churchill case: "I do not doubt that there are certain classes of documents which ought not to be disclosed whatever their content may be. Virtually everyone agrees that cabinet minutes and the like ought not to be disclosed... the most important reason is that such disclosure would create, or fan, ill-informed or capricious public or political criticism... No government could contemplate with equanimity the inner workings of the government machine being exposed to the gaze of those ready to criticise without adequate knowledge of the background and perhaps with some axe to grind. That must... also apply to all documents concerned with policy-making within departments, including, it may be, minutes and the like by quite junior officials and correspondence with outside bodies".

However, this and similar statements, do not mean that a minister is under a legal duty to claim PII in every such case: they are directed to the function of the court in passing judgment on such claims. It is for the minister to judge initially whether the public interest requires a claim to be made by him or her. The question of making a claim, as opposed to adjudicating on such a claim, is a matter of policy, not law.

In his evidence, Sir Nicholas said "PII cannot be waived". This may point to another source of the confusion. In *Hehir v Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis* (1982) the Court of Appeal ruled that PII already successfully claimed by the commissioner could not, when it suited him, later be waived as respects one document only. This was because the court had accepted for all the documents that, on balance, the public interest was against disclosure.

In *R v Her Majesty's Revenue & Customs, ex p Barnett* (1994), the court cited *Hehir v Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis* (1982) that "public interest immunity cannot in any ordinary sense be waived, since, although one can waive rights, one cannot waive duties." However, this was in the context of a party to litigation not being able to waive what was not his right, but a duty imposed on him. In so far as PII is a right enjoyed by the executive, there is no reason why the executive cannot waive it, and in principle it should obviously be able to.

Sir Nicholas's statement that it would be wrong for a minister to refrain from claiming PII unless so advised by the prosecution counsel is furthermore contrary to the principle established in the 1977 Campbell case, which brought down the first Labour government. This was that ministers must be kept out of the prosecution process.

Sir Nicholas does not seem to understand that he has two hats here. As head of the Crown Prosecution Service, with supervisory responsibilities even extending to cases such as Matrix Churchill, he must be aloof from the Government one hat. As legal adviser to the Government, he may advise ministers on whether to claim Crown privilege: the other hat.

Francis Bennetton, Parliamentary Counsel (1973-75), 54a Nicodemus Mylona Street, Limassol 3655, Cyprus.

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Heroic messages from those silent, suffering, angry men

THANKS to Ros Coward (Search for the hero inside of us, February 19) for helping me to reach intellectual and emotional critical mass. After years of trying to consider feminist arguments in a balanced way, I now realise that there is a strand of it I can comfortably ignore altogether. I never did manage to purge myself of all suspicion that behind some forms of feminism lay the most self-justifying, small-minded and spiteful of motivations. Women, I now realise, are actually much stronger than men. What's more, it seems that what evidence there is suggests that women are happier as well — more optimistic as schoolgirls, less suicidal as grown men. Lordy, one would be forgiven for thinking that women actually get more from life than men.

Ros Coward has pushed it just that bit too far. If women are so strong, why are they still victims? Or is the truth, as I suspect, that some of them — like Ros Coward — are only pretending to be victims so that they can in turn continue to couch their power-games in terms of a "struggle for equality"?

Coward attacks "masculine heroism" as a redundant ideal. Ironic, really, I have the oddest feeling that one form of such "heroism", the ability to "grin and bear it", is precisely what makes some men continue to believe they should listen to such ill-disguised sniping without complaint.

Peter James, Bristol BS6 6NR.

ROS COWARD need look no further than the Newbury by-pass camps I visited last weekend. There, now liable to be brought crashing by the gales, stood the last oaks amid a maelstrom of smashed trunks and branches. Forty or 50 feet up, where, as their tents and vans were trashed below, individuals would make their last stand against the Undersecretary's mercenaries.

All good BOP stuff. Yet, I found no conscious "risk-taking", strength-based (and mildly male) heroism. Even anger was muted. There was quiet determination to go through with it notwithstanding the inevitability of fines and maybe prison. There were acuity and pragmatism, prepared to play the system to the hilt. As for stoicism, could you last such a winter in the corner of a field — let alone up a tree?

Out of the seemingly marginalised, a potent new amalgam of the "old" and "new" heroics is emerging.

Chris Coppock, 37 Kernow Crescent, Milton Keynes MK8 2LD.

Who cares?

AS A victim in a case where a mentally-ill young man, prematurely released from hospital, attacked and killed a number of people, I was shocked by the letter from Judi Clements, of Mind (February 23). How can she question if there is any "danger" in the community and then say that the "danger" is really that "too much emphasis will be placed on residential care for a few people"?

In defending those with mental-health problems, Ms Clements has denied the experience of victims of often horrifying attacks.

In our case, the attacks have brought us face to face with the appalling underfunding of mental health services and, since this experience, we have become a determined group of advocates for increased spending on mental health. Is it not time to recognise that there is no contradiction between public safety and the best interests of those with mental health problems? Do we really have to argue a victim's case against a case for people with mental health problems? Name and address supplied.

Seas of trouble

MANY years ago I was a navigating officer on ships bringing oil into the UK. The challenge was always the tide and tidal movements: that is why we have local pilots who bring local changes to the attention of every arriving ship. No ship who asked me if there is sufficient water under the keel.

The solution to the present problem is to demand that every ship coming to the UK has UK-qualified navigating officers and that "tax-haven" ships with the alleged "mickey mouse staff" go elsewhere.

K Hall, 36 Manor Park, Bath BA1 3RJ.

OH DEAR I fear that Dr Julian Lewis (Letters, February 24) may be suffering from a severe memory disorder. Not only does he dispute the details of our conversation, he also seems to have forgotten that it was he who asked me to write to your paper to correct any inaccuracies regarding our dealings with each other. Julia Hartley-Brewer, Evening Standard, 2 Derry Street, London W8 5EE.

A Country Diary

STRUMPESHAW, NORFOLK: At its RSPB reserve, one of the most westerly portions of the Broads, a hide, perched high in the trees, offers probably as good an opportunity as anywhere in the country for seeing one of its rarest breeding birds — bittern. A recent single record a year is a good personal average. So, when I spotted one of the two Strumpshaw birds, I should have been completely focused on the sighting. But it was difficult to be so singleminded. Because at the moment the bird appeared, another speciality of Norfolk redbreed walked into view. It was a deer and, for a few seconds, it edged gingerly across the ice, either unsure of its footing or feeling vulnerable at being in open space to broad daylight before disappearing back into the reeds. About the size of a large dog and with a warm sandy brown coat, it was a Chinese Water Deer. An introduction from Asia and the most elusive of Norfolk's five deer species. Since the late 1950s they have built up a strong county population, with as many as 12 being seen at a single site. Their breeding success is enhanced by the deer's capacity for multiple births and, although females are uncommon amongst Britain's other deer, she commonly has triplets, sometimes even seven offspring. Conventionally, environmentalists disapprove of introduced species because of the threat they may pose to indigenous flora and fauna. But the Chinese Water Deer could yet present them with a nice conundrum, for if, as is suggested, the deer continues to decline in its native China, we might be urged to embrace the British population as a precious addition to the world total.

MARK COCKER

It's the Sun wot forgot it

READING your article (Plain Writing style may be early sign of Alzheimer's, February 23) I was left wondering if the cart hadn't gone before the horse. After all, were Alzheimer's the result of writing short and simple sentences rather than its cause, the implications for the mental health of tabloid journalists and advertising copywriters would be severe.

Furthermore, as well as compensating employees for work-induced disorders such as RSI, employers would be liable for the long-term care of staff whose mental agility their unnaturally restrictive house style had seriously impaired. Once this relationship becomes known, we might witness an efflorescence of intellectual complexity in the tabloid press, or even a reversion to the anti-intellectual bias supposedly prevalent in English culture.

Or perhaps we should all start writing in German.

Edmund Hewson, 14 Lordesmead Road, London N17 6EY.

Letters to the Editor may be faxed on 0171 837 4630 or sent by post to 119 Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER, and by e-mail to letters@guardian.co.uk. We may edit them: shorter ones are more likely to appear.

How I stopped feeling sorry for Asylum Ann

Endpiece

Roy Hattersley

LAST Thursday night, hanging about the House of Commons for reasons which I no longer recall, it was my misfortune to hear Ann Widdecombe pronounce her valediction on the Asylum and Immigration Bill. I have recently been in mortal danger of feeling sorry for Ms Widdecombe. For she is treated by her Tory colleagues with a condescension which would humiliate a more sensitive woman.

I share their view that the bravura speeches which she seems to think appropriate to every parliamentary occasion make her ridiculous. But the proper response to her pretensions is the angry murmur and the dissembled scowl. Behind her, the government backbenchers smirk in unison, as if they had all taken lessons from Kenneth Baker.

Compassion, combined with contempt for the new breed of young Tory, was beginning to make me champion her cause. Then I heard her declaim one of the most deplorable clichés in the Big Book Of Parliamentary Platitudes, a work of many volumes.

Fair and firm immigration regulations are, said Ms Widdecombe, the essential foundation of good race relations. David Waddington was the first Home Office minister I heard pronounce that particular piece of nonsense. Since then, he has become governor of Bermuda through whether he achieved that plummed-hatted eminence because of his diplomatic skills or love of the Afro-Caribbean people. I am not sure.

It was certainly not on account of his intellectual powers. For when I tried to complain that, by describing a policy as firm and fair, he did not automatically make it so, he looked at me as if I had announced that Isaac Newton's apple had begun on his head and ended in the tree. There have, during the last 10 years, been four immigration bills by one name or another. Each one has been more oppressive than the one which preceded it. All of them have been described by the sponsoring minister as firm and fair.

Tory ministers seem genuinely to believe that to question what they say is certainly unpatriotic and probably blasphemous. But that is not my main objection to the terrible old mantras about fair and firm immigration policies being the basis of good race relations. Translated into basic English, that attempt to deign the indefensible means, "unless we keep most of them out, those who are already here will be treated badly". The "those" and "them" all come from the New Commonwealth.

Ms Widdecombe will, I have no doubt, insist that immigration regulations are intended to deter Australians no less than Pakistanis. But would she really advance the argument that, unless we slow down the influx of Queenslanders, there will be riots in Earls Court? Basically, it is

entry policies than ours. Some of my Muslim constituents — British by birth or registration — have crossed the Channel (as was their community right) to live in countries which, unlike Great Britain, allowed their wives to join them from Pakistan or Kashmir.

Notwithstanding that, some limitation is necessary though spouses should need no qualification except the fact of marriage. But to pretend that it is all done in the name of good community relations is the most hideous hypocrisy.

Good community relations are not encouraged by the protection of the idea that the entry of the one black immigrant into this country will be so damaging to the national interest that husbands must be separated from wives, children denied the chance to look after their aged parents, and sisters prevented from attending their brothers' weddings. It is measures like the Asylum and Immigration Bill — and the attendant speeches — which create the impression that we "cannot afford to let them in". And, if we cannot afford to let them in, those of them who are here already must — like their relatives, who Margaret Thatcher thought wanted "to swamp" our civilisation — be doing us harm. That is the message of increasingly stringent immigration regulations.

Yet Ms Widdecombe, if we are to believe in her sincerity, does not understand the effect of what she is saying. Though I do her intelligence justice, I have to admit that — when she got carried away by her own eloquence — she did slip in a comment about the Labour Party damaging itself by constant opposition to the tightening of immigration control. On that point, she may well be right — though the harm of which she speaks is electoral. The moral self-confidence of the Opposition has been immensely improved by the stand it has taken. And at least the conclusion of last Thursday's debate had benefited for me: it stopped me feeling sorry for Ann Widdecombe.

Paris Diary

Paul Webster

MOST of Paris's better known meeting places could provide a real life drama for a film script. The other day I was at Chez Edgar off the Champs Elysées, one of those restaurants where Le Tout Paris roams between the main dining room and the private salons.

It was here that the last socialist prime minister, Pierre Bérégovoy, celebrated his 40th wedding anniversary. Tempted by shady financiers, he took up a small interest-free, but not overhyped, loan. Then the decadence of leftwing morals, Bérégovoy, the only working-class member of the socialist elite, shot himself a few months later by a canal towpath.

There used to be a tradition in French cinema in which real life political events were turned into thinly disguised fiction to overcome censorship, but this has gone out of fashion since Le Bon Plaisir, 13 years ago, inspired by rumours of François Mitterrand's illegitimate daughter.

With Bérégovoy in mind, Chez Edgar would have been an appropriate venue to discuss changing cinematic trends. I was invited by Marc Tessier, head of Centre National de la Cinématographie (CNC), the officially subsidised body that protects and finances television and film production.

As often happens when culture is discussed, conversation was sidetracked by the suspicion that I was an agent of Anglo-Saxon cultural imperialism. What was intended to be a dialogue on Franco-British co-production turned into a metaphorical towpath and took its own life in despair. French "specificities" or cultural protectionism, is one of the minor irritations of living here along with toilettes à la turque and occasional, even outsiders can be useful allies.

This year, foreign correspondents were mobilised to present the first Lumière awards, a Parisian version of the US Golden Globes. The best film was judged to be La Haine — Hate — about police and youth violence in poor suburbs, making the award as much an insight into the preoccupations of foreign reporters as a tribute to a low budget, black and white film.

La Haine was a rare excursion into order social issues during a year in which about 120 films were made, mostly with CNC cash input and government advances on box-office receipts, seals of official approval on government money has induced nervousness over politically sensitive projects is impossible to prove, but cash flow is to be stepped up even further, notably to encourage script-writers. Although the prospect of the film industry becoming a sub-branch of the civil service is on the cards, it is difficult to argue against state aid on economic grounds. Throughout last year, home grown products thoroughly out-boxed their US rivals and the dominance continues with the top four current hits being made in France.

But on a closer look nearly all recent blockbusters are unexportable domestic comedies exploiting domestic humour. To clarify this point, how many in-jokes can you spot in the current hit, Le Bonheur est dans le pré — Rural Bliss — in which Eric Cantona, supposedly a rugby footballer, philosophises over the desirability of confit canard in a Mediterranean accent? Cantona wasn't in the running for a Lumière, but the best actor prize went to his partner in Le Bonheur, the veteran Michel Serrault, for his role in Nelly and Mr Arnaud: a production that maintains the most durable French tradition, carefully lit and enigmatically relationships across abnormal emotional boundaries that might be served up abroad if government plans to finance an international cultural counter-attack pays off. Adultère mode d'emploi. L'Amour conjugal. Consentement mutuel. Dis-moi OUI. Oublie-moi. Une femme française and Haut, bas, fragile — all of them the stuff of heartbreaks, divorce and inconsolable grief with action restricted to a tearful walk between the kitchen and bedroom.

A walk on the Wilde side of Pat Buchanan

Commentary

Mark Lawson

JUST IN case Pat Buchanan becomes President, I would like to lay down this anecdote for his biographers. In 1992, in the early stages of the New Hampshire primary, I was among the small group of journalists following him.

employ only heterosexuals. I wondered if it was possible — Mr Buchanan's schooling had been Catholic and sheltered — that he simply didn't know. So one day, in the snows of the north country, I raised the problem: surely his beloved Oscar Wilde had himself been a celebrated homosexual, indeed might qualify for the title Gore Vidal now claims for himself, of literature's "King Fag"?

The presidential candidate gave his trademark guttural and grasped my upper-arm. "My friend," he said, "I think the statute of limitations is up on Oscar Wilde." From which we conclude that it is okay to be gay as long as you have been dead for about 80 years and that Pat Buchanan is a man of contradictions. (This great advocate of protectionist economics was also at the time the driver of a German car). Being aware of his complex position on the Irish republican issue, I was perhaps less surprised than other commentators by the apparent inconsistencies in the Buchanan platform which is currently exciting Republican primary voters: rightwing but anti-corporate, and promising to lead a "march on Washington", a city where he has been resident for several decades and made a lucrative media living.

As a serious political figure has been alarm: at his isolationist, protectionist, homophobic, possibly racist views. But it seems to me that an equally proper response is — and the candidate often sounds like a man familiar with German words — schadenfreude. Can there ever before have been a week in which the political right in both Britain and America were simultaneously in such a mess?

The Conservative Party — as Peter Thurnham becomes the third sitting MP to walk out in six months — is humiliated by departures. The Republican Party — as Buchanan brings it the support of militia members and other backwoods wackos — is embarrassed by arrivals. Groups which seemed, in very recent memory, to have colonised our politics for ever, now contemplate ruin. Some of the factors in this current chaos on the right are common to both sides of the Atlantic. In both cases, a somewhat unlikely and thus volatile legislative and electoral coalition — combining rich and poor, upper and lower-class, near-fascist and liberal conservative — was held together by a charismatic election-winner: Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan. In both cases, the hard-line rightwingers whom these leaders attracted to the party

have succeeded, after their departure and replacement by a dimmer spirit, in giving a single issue disproportionate influence on its direction. For the Conservatives, the disfiguring issue is Europe. For the Republicans, it is abortion.

On the last point, the only recorded joke of President George Bush looks increasingly prescient. Although not usually a humorist, Bush is reported, after addressing breakfast of Republicans in the early eighties, to have commented to his chief of staff, James Baker: "Hell, Jim, I was the only person in that room that had only been born once." These days, each potential Republican nominee requires partial if not total immersion in the beliefs of the born-again. One of the problems of General Colin Powell, still the dream candidate of moderates in the Republican Party, was always going to be his freedom-of-choice stance on abortion.

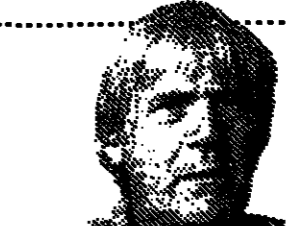
IN THEIR different ways, Peter Thurnham and Pat Buchanan are examples of what happens when a political party becomes — or is forced to become by doctrinal high-jacking — cavalier about its flanks. A Conservative hierarchy which chose to respond to the Scott report through cynically selective quotation and an imperious attempt to hold on to criticised ministers clearly had little sense of the current attitude among the electorate to politicians. Much the same can be said of a Republican hierarchy which tried to fix the nomination for its veteran servant, Bob Dole, even to the extent of creating qualifying rules for the New York primary so convoluted as virtually to prevent competition. They failed. Indeed, Pat Buchanan's success has demonstrated that, though the American electorate may be as

stupid and gullible as Europeans like to think, it is at least so in a way different from the general prejudice. It has long been a creed of political commentary that campaign success depends on bank balance. Yet Buchanan, with a war chest of relative peanuts, easily out-scored Steve Forbes, who spent tens of millions of dollars of his own money. You can't buy power though you can demagogue it.

It's slightly odd, though, that there has been so much comment about the strange coalition of policies and voters coalescing around Buchanan. For, in the nineties, the platform of opposition candidates has generally been secondary to their political appeal. This is a period of lightning-rod politics, in which storms of electoral resentment are drawn to individuals or parties, often for short periods of time. At different times, Ross Perot, Bill Clinton, Newt Gingrich and Pat Buchanan have been the beneficiaries of such distress.

The closest you can get to doing a Buchanan under the British system is, say, to change your name by deed poll to "Sir Nicholas Lyell" and run against him in his constituency, but lightning-rod politics can still operate. After Scott and other horrors, Tony Blair is likely to receive the votes of people who don't agree with all or even very much of what he represents, but who wish to rebel against their old allegiance. The chaos on the right is not yet to be confused with a resurgence of the left, but there is a certain cathartic pleasure in watching them suffer. Incidentally, I recommend to Mr Buchanan for a future speech the following quip of Oscar's, which seems to fit Bob Dole: "He has fought a good fight and has had to face every difficulty except popularity."

Unlucky 13 left holding the threads



Paul Foot

WATCH out for the following Tory MPs when the division lists are published for tonight's Scott report debate: Dame Elaine Keiller-Bowman (Lancaster), Tom Sackville (Bolton West), Michael Spiller (South West Wiltshire), David Howell (Guildford), Sir Timothy Sainsbury (Hove), Sir Michael Grylls (North West Surrey), Phillip Oppenheim (Amber Valley), David Curry (Skipton and Ripon), Mark Lennox-Boyd (Morecambe and Lonsdale), John Marshall (Hendon South), John Patten (Oxford West and Abingdon), Michael Forsyth (Stirling) and David Nicholson (Taunton).

They are the unlucky 13 named in the Scott report as victims of "designedly misleading" answers from ministers and the ministers' answers were, in the sober opinion of the third most senior judge in the country, false. The answers pretended either that British defence sales policy to Iran and Iraq was "even-handed", or that the guidelines governing defence sales to Iraq had remained unchanged since 1985; or (in a letter to David Nicholson from William Waldegrave) that "strict guidelines were introduced in 1985 to prevent the export of military equipment to Iraq and Iran while the Gulf war was taking place". This statement, says Scott, "could not truthfully have been made". It was rubbish. As Waldegrave well knew, British firms sold hundreds of millions of pounds worth of military equipment to both countries during the Iran-Iraq war.

When people contact their MPs, they expect accurate replies. If the replies they get are false, the slender democratic thread which connects electors to elected is snapped. By far the most important theme in the Scott report is the weakness of Parliamentary democracy. Louis MacNeice asserted without much confidence more than 50 years ago that "this crude and

so-called obsolete top-heavy tedious parliamentary system is our only ready weapon to defeat the legions' eagles and the lictors' axes". Never mind the legions' eagles and the lictors' axes, is our top-heavy tedious parliamentary system strong enough even to control the unlovet corporate pigs, as Noel Gallagher so accurately describes the people who run industry, especially the arms industry?

Increasingly powerful unelected corporations pursue their own selfish agendas while drooling to us in a language which pretends the opposite. "Public interest immunity" means something of interest from which the public must in all circumstances be kept immune. The value of the Scott report is its sustained proof that parliament is constantly by-passed and subverted. A glorious example is the scandal of the Supergun. In 1992, the Commons Trade and Industry Select Committee produced a long and unconvincing report. Three years later, Sir Richard goes over the same ground and produces a completely different account. This is not because the members of the TISC were dim, or Sir Richard clever. It is because the MPs on the Select Committee were denied the information they needed. Crucial intelligence reports were "not available" to them. When they applied to hear from civil servants who know the answers to vital questions, they were told the two men had retired and that their appearance would therefore be "not appropriate". Armed, at last, with the evidence from witnesses and intelligence documents, Sir Richard can finally tell us the true story, and its awful consequences for the absurdly-called intelligence services.

ANOTHER example is the revelation in the House of Commons and Civil Service fundering in a sea of secrecy and deceit. In such circumstances, the instinctive reaction to an awkward question is designedly to mislead. The lie comes more naturally than the truth. If you want to assess how much our current bunch of Tory MPs care about all this, study carefully those division lists tomorrow — and the votes of the unlucky 13.

The Attorney General failed in his primary role. Knowing that justice would not be served over Matrix Churchill, Sir Nicholas Lyell still did nothing. For this alone, argues Geoffrey Robertson, he must go

The day the light went out

THE OFFICE of Attorney-General is, as Sir Nicholas Lyell reminded us on the eve of his evidence to the Scott inquiry, a lighthouse in a thunder storm. The case for his resignation as lighthouse keeper is not that he is lacking in decency or integrity, or that he misunderstood PIL law. It is that, as the Matrix Churchill storm clouds gathered over several weeks in September 1992, he failed to tend the beacon. The facts which Scott carefully establishes as the basis for finding him "personally at fault" begin on 4 September, one month before the trial was due to commence, when the Attorney was told that Michael Heseltine "is unhappy about the prosecution and does not want to be party to the suppression of documents which are helpful to the defence". This was unprecedented. The Cabinet Minister responsible for the department whose rules the defendants had allegedly broken was convinced that they would not be tried fairly if he certified that it was not in the public interest for the documents to be released. As the memo to the Attorney wryly noted, "the problem is that he thinks it is in the public interest for the documents in this case to be disclosed". This memo concluded, ominously, "The prosecution may yet come to a sticky end."



misleading the Court over Heseltine's position must be borne by the Attorney-General. It had come about by oversight rather than design, but was just one consequence of the Attorney's failure to do his duty. Another was his failure to take seriously Heseltine's concern about justice or to recognise the grave constitutional implications of "suppressing documents helpful to defendants" — at a trial in which, unprecedentedly, two former ministers would appear as witnesses for the prosecution. This is, after all, the Attorney-General's most important constitutional role: to guard the public interest by acting so as to prevent apprehended miscarriages of justice. It would be better done, as in many countries, by an Attorney recruited from the judiciary or the senior Bar, rather than by a party politician. The only point, in fact, of having a "QC MP" as an Attorney is that he can be held directly responsible in Parliament.

But Sir Nicholas refuses to take responsibility. "The notion that I should have been personally involved in vetting the brief is really not realistic," he told Parliament last week, unattractively shifting the blame to lawyers in the treasury solicitors department. But this is not Scott's notion. Lyell is not at fault for failing to "vet the brief", he is found at fault for failing to take firm (or any) action after being told, authoritatively, of the likelihood that justice would not be done in an important trial. The "spin" now being put on Scott's clear finding of personal fault is that it is based on criticism of Lyell's legal opinion about PIL certificates. This is false. Lyell is found at fault not for being a poor lawyer, but for being a poor Attorney-General.

In 1993, the first Labour Attorney-General, Patrick Hastings, made a thoroughness of proceedings — first brought, then dropped — against the Workers Weekly. His fault, too, was failure to do his duty attentively. F E Smith (Lord Birkenhead) accused Hastings of "a disagreeable and unedifying performance" by which he had been guilty of departing from the high reputation of the office of Attorney-General. As a result, the government fell. The opposition lacks an F E Smith to tell this Attorney-General it is time to go, because he failed to tend the light, and men were in peril in the darkness. They survived, of course, but only after a six-week ordeal they should not have suffered. If he fails now to accept the responsibility Scott imputes to him, he will do more damage to the office of Attorney-General by failing to resign than he did, in September 1992, by failing to act.

John Simpson on the fudging of language in Scott

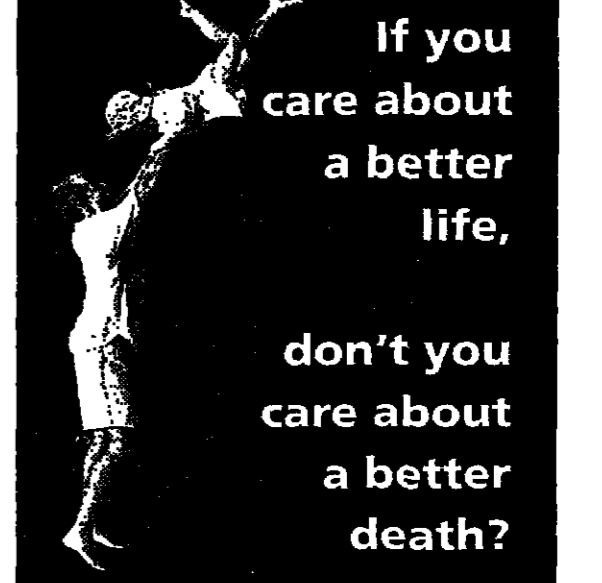
Clear as mud

SIR Richard Scott has complained, perhaps naively, that his considered report has been subject to bowdlerization and turned into soundbites. English is a flexible language, but many people would not know where to turn when confronted with a sentence such as this: "I accept that Mr Waldegrave and the other adherents of the 'interpretation' thesis did not, in putting forward the thesis, have any 'duplicitous intention' and, at the time, regarded the relaxed interpretation, or implementation, of guideline 3 as being a justifiable use of the flexibility believed to be inherent in the guidelines." To clarify, he adds: "But that that was so underlines, to my mind, the duplicitous nature of the flexibility claimed for the guidelines." One can almost hear Cicero and Dr Johnson applauding this breathtaking rhetoric. The passage is Latinate in its structure and vocabulary. Abstract nouns raise the level of discourse into the realm of theoretical debate.

and the sly negative, after which the flow of the main clause is immediately broken, throws the reader into temporary panic. "Duplicitous" is weaselly; it sounds stock-legal, but dates from the late-19th century in American law, adopting its modern "two-faced, double-dealing" connotations in the 1950s. Robin Cook must have been left reeling from his lesson in semantics. Sir Richard is aware of the significance of grammatical description: "The qualification of 'misleading' by the addition of the adverb 'knowingly' does not, in my mind, make any material difference to the substance of the obligation resting on ministers not to

mislead Parliament or the public." (This time the "not" — again followed by a break in the main clause and by a sweep to a personal, and rather syntactically unexpected, insertion — "in my mind" — is only the overture to another "not" towards the end of the sentence.) "Designedly" is another favourite. "As a consequence of this decision, answers given by ministers to parliamentary questions are designedly uninformative. Parliament was designedly led to believe (etc.)" "Designedly" should imply intention, but somehow it seems to muddy the sentence. The truth-words stand out from the argument: "misleading", "untrue", "uncon-

vincing", "inadequate". But even the last two leave scope for misinterpretation. The result is that no one is fairly served by this report: Sir Richard's prolix prose is declaimed by the headline-writer, the Government receives a report which is too long to read and which despite Sir Richard's balanced style, is not perceived as coming down squarely on either side. The Opposition is given the quarry it seeks for demonstrations of righteous indignation, and the public is bamboozled by the rhetoric and the arguments. If we are not careful the political status quo will remain as it was, as Sir Richard might say, in the ante.



If you care about a better life, don't you care about a better death?

79% of people in this country believe that it should be legal for those incurably ill and in severe distress to be allowed to request a peaceful, dignified end to their suffering. Our law does not agree: so the agony continues.

If you support voluntary euthanasia, the best way to achieve a change in the law is to join the Voluntary Euthanasia Society. Do it today.

Join the Voluntary Euthanasia Society and you will receive a free Advance Directive, which enables you to specify your wish not to be subjected to unwanted medical intervention if incurably ill. Please make me a member of VES and keep me informed about the campaign. I enclose £10 annual subscription (joint membership £14). Name: Address: Postcode: Voluntary Euthanasia Society For Dignity in Dying

Niall MacDermot

Victim of vetting

NIALL MacDermot, who has died aged 78, was a wartime intelligence officer, lawyer and Labour minister in the 1960s-70 Wilson governments, whose promised Cabinet post was withdrawn in one of the most unpleasant miscarriages of justice of the Cold War. M15, then at the height of their witchfinding days, secretly pronounced him to be a security risk because of his enduring love for Ludmilla Benvenuto, a beautiful Russian, who had waited 12 years to marry.

MacDermot, who had been a Treasury minister and was due to be promoted to become one of Wilson's law officers, resigned from politics in disgust. He moved to Switzerland to become Secretary-General of the International Commission of Jurists, a post he held for the rest of his professional life. He maintained silence for 20 years, before the facts came out about Harold Wilson's cowardice in the face of the security services.

The first of several dramas in MacDermot's life came when he was tried for manslaughter immediately after the outbreak of war in 1939. The son of a Dublin barrister, after Rugby school and Corpus Christi, Cambridge, MacDermot became a member of the "New Britain" group, an off-beat syndicalist organisation influenced by the ideas of a Yugoslav philosopher, Dimitrij Mitrović. In a bizarre accident he struck a friend in the group during a quarrel, who had a hitherto unknown heart condition and died. The trial was a formality and MacDermot was acquitted.

As an M15 officer in the war, MacDermot was introduced to one of the secret service's rising stars, Kim Philby. The introduction was made by Dick White, later to become a post-war head of M16, and as MacDermot was wryly to recall: "White was thrilled by Philby. He thought he was wonderful."

MacDermot attained the rank of Lieutenant Colonel and was awarded the OBE in 1944 for taking charge of counter-intelligence during the Normandy landings. He and his colleagues successfully identified over 80 of the 106 agents sent behind Allied lines. Later he belonged to the captured Heinz Himmler were distributed among the counter-intelligence team. MacDermot brought home Himmler's spectacles; years later he threw them away in disgust.

As a London barrister in 1954 he met and fell passionately in love with the half-Russian, half-Italian Ludmilla Benvenuto, a UN translator, in England temporarily to learn the language. MacDermot refused to end his wartime marriage to Violet Maxwell until his young son had grown up and left school. It was 1966 before he re-married.

In the meantime MacDermot went into politics. He won Lewisham North at a by-election in 1957, but lost the seat in the 1959 general election. He returned to Parliament in 1962 after taking Derby North in another by-election. As a back-bencher MacDermot was one of the few intelligentsia insiders prepared publicly to press a radical Harold Macmillan in the Commons when Philby defected in 1963. MacDermot knew Philby was no mere Foreign Office official but a very senior M16 man. It cannot be said MacDermot's popularity with the secret services.

When Wilson won in 1964 he made MacDermot Financial Secretary to the Treasury. The barrister, who had



Niall MacDermot... a political career cut short after M15's 'security risk' ruling

recently attracted attention as one of the prosecuting counsel in the Great Train Robbery trial, was a right-of-centre associate of then Home Secretary James Callaghan. But three years later, in the wake of MacDermot's re-marriage, M15 intervened. The names of Labour ministers due for promotion were submitted by Wilson to Martin Furnival-Jones, then head of M15, for "negative vetting" — a search of the intelligence files on them and their associates. Several Labour politicians fell foul of the prejudice and error in the records of the "security service".

Wilson had previously indicated to MacDermot that he would be promoted to Solicitor-General; instead he was struck off the list of attendees at a Cabinet sub-committee on defence. He was transferred to a less "sensitive" junior minister's post at Housing, helping Richard Crossman pass the Town and Country Planning Act. Ludmilla had to submit to a week-long interrogation by an M15 officer, Patrick Stewart, who MacDermot had known at Rugby. They co-operated in what they believed would be a formality. Instead, an embarrassed Wilson told MacDermot the security men declared themselves "not satisfied" with his wife's explanations. The couple were denied either representation or appeal against this secret "verdict", at a time when M15 and M16 were treated with deference.

What was particularly unfair was that Ludmilla and her Italian mother were ejected from the Soviet Union in 1938 as "foreigners". Her Russian father was sent to the Gulag. An unwelcome stranger in Mussolini's Italy, Ludmilla had risked her life

in the anti-fascist resistance. After the war she worked for a Soviet official in Italy, handling film distribution. In the hope of being allowed to return to the Soviet Union, but when she discovered her father and all her known relatives had died there, she went to Geneva as a translator.

MacDermot resigned from government in 1968, citing "personal reasons". He was made a trustee of the Tate Gallery (1969-1976) a year later and became honourable treasurer of Justice, the law reform group (1968-1970). He resigned his seat in 1970 and moved to Geneva. In 1988 he acknowledged that he had been the victim of blacklisting by the security services.

David Leigh
Niall MacDermot, lawyer and politician, born September 10, 1916; died 22 February 1990

Bob Thiele

Rooting for jazz in a cool climate

JAZZ recording sessions are often perfunctory affairs. It might be part of jazz mythology that players fall out of cabs just as the engineers are starting to look at their watches, circulate a handful of tapes written on the backs of envelopes, cut the disc in hours rather than weeks, and head for the next gig. But jazz economics have frequently made those circumstances close to the truth.

So jazz producers have been campaigning for better recording conditions, as often as they have been creative partners with players. Bob Thiele, who has died aged 73, was one of the most respected and influential of jazz record producers who worked in such conditions.

Since jazz was largely out of fashion during the critical part of his career, Thiele worked on pop hits as well as on some of the most adventurous recordings by John Coltrane, Albert Ayler and Archie Shepp. He was a jazz lover all his life.

Thiele was an amateur clarinetist and early enthusiasm propelled him towards deejaying on mid-thirties jazz shows, while simultaneously running a 14-piece funk band. He edited Jazz Magazine between 1969 and 1991, then owned and ran Signature Records until 1986 — recording celebrities like Coleman Hawkins, Lester Young, Don Byas, Earl Hines and Pee Wee Russell.

After Signature went bust, Thiele joined Decca-Coral in 1952, working later with Buddy Holly, Jackie Wilson, The Crickets, Pat Boone, the Young Brothers and Steve Lawrence and Eydie Gorme. He also recorded Ricochet and Jilted, early hits of Teresa Brewer (whom he married in 1972). But he was starting to reveal a streak of enthusiasm for subcultural activities. When he made an album of Jack Kerouac reading his poems for Dot Records the company banned it as obscene; he quit and started a Hanover-Signature to ensure Kerouac's deliberations made it to the streets.

In 1961 Thiele joined ABC subsidiary Impulse Records, a label specialising in jazz, and his most innovative work followed, significantly as a result of a profound belief in John Coltrane's genius. Over those eight years Thiele also worked with Coleman Hawkins, Oliver Nelson, Earl Hines, Albert Ayler, Alice Coltrane, Count Basie, Archie Shepp, Charles Mingus and Charlie Haden's Liberation Music Orchestra. He also cut superb blues and R&B records



Wonderful world... Thiele with Louis Armstrong in 1970

with Shepp and others, but 1960s racial politics inevitably caused tensions. When players protested of exploitation by a white record label, Thiele would sometimes say: "Then record for Motown!" But he told Wimmer: "I do it because I believe in it, but after the record is made and it doesn't sell — because I don't have the resources to promote it and advertise it the way it possibly should be — then the musician immediately turns round and says, 'Well, this guy ripped me off.' That's my deal with me. I yet I do understand how they figure it out."

Thiele felt that the producer's job was to act as a catalyst and even a therapist at times. He performed the crucially performed with John Coltrane, an obsessive who could spiral into despair in pursuit of the elusively sublime music he could hear in his head. He was also convinced that new jazz, properly marketed, could be far less marginalised than it was — a turn of events he lived to see.

In pursuit of that end after he left Impulse in 1968, Thiele formed Flying Dutchman Records in the Impulse mould, recording both mainstream and avant-garde stars, and in between managed to write the Louis Armstrong hit What A Wonderful World. Some of the cult hits of the 1960s and 1980s dance-jazz scene were cut for Flying Dutchman, notably pieces by Pharoah Sanders. Thiele worked on reissue programmes for Impulse, CBS and RCA in the 1980s, and recorded pianists McCoy Tyner and John Hicks, and saxophonists Alvin Murray and Arthur Blake for his own Red Baron label.

John Fordham
Bob Thiele, record producer, born July 27, 1912; died February 6, 1990

Peter Pooley

Echoes of empire on the airwaves

PETER Pooley, who has died aged 84, was the founder and first editor of Radio Newsreel, the news magazine programme first broadcast on July 8, 1940. Fifty years later, editions of RNR were being re-broadcast by some 60 radio stations in 25 different countries. Its signature tune, the march Imperial Echoes by Eric Coates, had by then become inseparably associated with the programme for millions round the world.

In 1940 Pooley's ambition was to devise a new formula for a 30-minute news programme which would convey news and comment in a manner which would associate fact and immediacy with the human and dramatic element. To achieve this RNR used new techniques, such as introducing recorded inserts, collecting comments from war correspondents and presenting them in a lively manner.

RNR was part of the BBC

World Service, known as the Empire Service before the war, then as the Overseas Service. At first the programme was broadcast from Bush House. It then moved to Evesham and later, when the Blitz was at its height, the entire Overseas Service moved into a large building in Oxford Street, formerly part of the Peter Robinson department store.

When converted to the BBC specification, the building became a faceless citadel, dark

green in colour, without a single window and the street pavement level outside was raised several feet in order to give added protection to the area below. Radio Newsreel was based on the second floor. Pooley had a large office usually crowded with people — producers, reporters, speakers, war correspondents — who came in and out of the office and other rooms as each programme was being assembled.

Pooley was a tall, fair-haired man, usually dressed in light clothes, who seemed always to be in a good mood. He spoke slowly, gently, but his voice had the confidence of knowledge and experience. As well as editor he was an excellent producer with an uncanny grasp of political developments and of constantly changing war situations. His charm, sense of humour and great capacity for work endeared him to staff and outside contributors. RNR was always a happy unit to work in.

Pooley was educated at Gresham's Holt, which had also been Lord Reith's old school. From there he won a bursary scholarship to University College, Oxford to read Modern Greats. He was set on a diplomatic career but failed to get the position he wanted in the Foreign Office. He went abroad for a year and when he returned applied for a job

George Angeloglou
Peter Pooley, broadcaster, born January 12, 1912; died February 5, 1990



On the record... Peter Pooley with visitors to the Radio Newsreel studio in 1944

Jackdaw



Flesh eaters

THE BIBLE is a meat-eater's manifesto. Before the Fall, Adam and Eve were vegetarians. They fed on rains, nuts and fruits. Then Eve ate the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil — or at least that's the way Adam explained it to God. They were cast forth from the Garden, plunging mankind into original sin from which redemption can come only through the grace of Christ, whose flesh is eaten periodically in the form of the Eucharist. Hardy were Adam and Eve out of Eden before God was offering "respect" to the flesh sacrifice of Abel the keeper of

sheep and withholding "respect" from Cain the tiller of the ground. Next thing we know, Cain rose up against his brother Abel, slew him and we were on our way.

Ringling in Man's ears was the Almighty's edict, as reported in Genesis 1:26-28: "Let us make Man in our image, after our likeness; and let them have dominion... over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth... Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth and subdue it." Thus did the biblical God launch humans on the exploitation of the rest of the natural world, the way of the using.

Alexander Cockburn opens his "Short, Meat-Oriented History of the World From Eden to the Mattole, in the New Left Review

Flesh cutter
LIFT, SLASH. Grab. Sever. Heave. Squeeze. Slice. Rinse. Repeat. I am working at a speed that I would have to characterise as furious, thrashing in a milieu of flying

puke, liquid cow pie, mucus, and blood, with a six-inch blade in my hand. Giant piles of guts move toward me on the steel conveyor belt. My job is to isolate the small intestine from this mess. I slash through a sheet of fat to find the point — tied off in two knots with twine — where the stomach turns into the tube denum. I sever the tube between the knots and yank the intestine onto a side table. Then I squeeze its green contents toward the butt end and amputate the colon. If I have a few seconds to spare, I will run my gloves under hot water in the sink behind me and swing around to catch the next intestine before it slides away from me down the reject chute...

As miserable as the work is, the spirit on the kill floor is far from joyless. Spontaneous rounds of whooping can erupt at any time, with no obvious provocation, as hundreds of crazed, caged animals start banging their knives. Some engage in protracted hose battles. Other slice pieces of meat off the carcasses and boil them up in the knife ster-

ilisers for snacks. It is important not to underestimate the importance of meat throwing in this equation. On our first day of training, we were specifically instructed that meat throwing is not allowed. But it didn't take long to see that not only is it allowed, it is the most exalted form of expression in the plant. Everyone, including the foremen and the USDA guys, takes turns winging chunks at one another: strips of fat, heart valves, slabs of bad liver all make excellent projectiles. The spleen guy and the guy who cuts the valves out of the heart have an ongoing feud, splattering each other across the face with assorted bits.

Larry Gallagher covers up and goes undercover to take a job in the meat packing trade for the American magazine Details

Cough, cough
B&H: Working class fags these. Never called Benson and Hedges. As favoured by all good honest all-right there-guy nor type people. No pretence here, football supporters and us sad bastards

with dead end factory jobs smoke these. Vending machines in pubs and clubs have more columns of B&H than any other ciggie. The good things about these smokes is that you get "yellow finger" quite quickly which is a must if you want to hang around the bookies all day, or if you're a student and seem to be for preparing clonking great reapers with... the packet is not very good, an all round wimpy ciggie this.

Marlboro: As smoked by students and people who think they are cool and arty. The packet is smart but the infamous KKR ink is a bit off-putting. Why do people who smoke these reckon they are the dogs' bollocks? OK if

Letter

Moss Evans, former general secretary of the TGWU, writes: "There are those, including former Chancellor Denis Healey," says Geoffrey Goodman in his obituary of the TGWU's Harry (February 22) who believe that had Urwin rather than myself taken over as TGWU general secretary, then "the Winter of Discontent", which "brought down the Callaghan government and led to the Labour Party in opposition to this day," could have been prevented. I take strong exception to the obituary being used to denigrate not only myself but my colleagues in suggesting we were responsible for the subsequent Labour defeats. The guilty parties are the Labour Cabinet members of the time and the rigidity of Healey's pay policy. The Winter of Discontent was preceded by the road block dispute, before which Harry was amongst the group, led by me, invited by the Prime Minister to meet him. Harry tried, fruitlessly, to persuade Callaghan and Healey of the justice of the

Birthdays

Peter Carter-Ruck, solicitor, 82; Johnny Cash, singer, 64; Antoine "Fats" Domino, rock 'n' roller, 68; David Edgar, playwright, 48; Stuart Etherington, chief executive, National Council for Voluntary Organisations, 41; Betty Hutton, film actress, 78; Emma Kirkby, soprano, 47; Prof Noreen Murray, molecular biologist, 61; "Flip" Phillips, saxophonist, 81; Dr Diana Walford, director, Public Health Laboratory Service, 52; Everton Weekes, cricketer, 71.

Death Notices

BARKER, Kathleen Violet. Suddenly at home on 21st February aged 86 years. Loved and admired by her family. Buried on 24th at St. Paul's High School Funeral Home, Chesham Crematorium on Friday 12th March at 12.00 noon. Family flowers only, donations desired to which comprise Hospital League of Friends, c/o St. John's & Co Ltd, 74 Freshbury Road, Chesham.

PETER, Francis McDonald, 1942-1990 remembered always with love. No to read an announcement telephone 0171 611 8640.

Illlogical

1. Are Worf's religious practices based on Jewish mystical traditions? What would Jewish Klingons be like?
2. Is the portrayal of ferengi monetary practices based on anti-Semitic stereotypes? If the Ferengi used the Jewish tradition as a basis for their Rules of Acquisition, what would the rules be?
3. The Maquis's circum-

stances are often seen as a thinly veiled representation of the current situation on the West Bank. Do you think this is true? If so, how should the situation be solved?
4. If there were a Jewish element in the training at Starfleet Academy, what would it be? What aspects of the training given to the Israel Defence Forces would be used?
5. In which segments of the Starfleet would Jews want to participate? Would they want to be doctors, therapists, computer experts, and lawyers, as a lot of Jews are today? Possible subjects for discussion on the Internet's Trek-cochavim newsgroup, dedicated to examining the Star Trek universe from a Jewish or Israeli perspective. Reprinted in Harper's magazine

Jackdaw wants your jewels. E-mail jackdaw@guardian.co.uk; fax 0171-713-4366; Jackdaw, The Guardian, 119 Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER.

Dan Glaster

سكنا من الارجن

ILLUSTRATION: STEVE CAPLIN



Reviewing the troops

When Tony Blair wins the election, one of his first tasks should be to institute a new system in No 10. In the second extract from their book about New Labour, **Peter Mandelson** and **Roger Liddle** offer advice on the deployment of the three main forces of government: the Cabinet Office, the Treasury and the PM's staff

Blair's new Britain

WHEN voters are asked to elect a new government, they will be asked to elect a new Britain. Blair's new Britain will be a country where the government is seen to be in control of its own destiny. Blair's new Britain will be a country where the government is seen to be in control of its own destiny. Blair's new Britain will be a country where the government is seen to be in control of its own destiny.

The best possible idea of how it is going to do it. New Labour's economic programme must be shaped by Britain's needs. Anything that is essential to the programme of national renewal must come first; other measures must wait. Labour needs to prepare for another fact of life: that the economic programme must be shaped by Britain's needs. Anything that is essential to the programme of national renewal must come first; other measures must wait.

machine. Blair's job is to make this machine work, so as to ensure that the government's programme is delivered, avoiding the pitfalls that Harold Wilson and James Callaghan encountered when they came into office. Blair's job is to make this machine work, so as to ensure that the government's programme is delivered, avoiding the pitfalls that Harold Wilson and James Callaghan encountered when they came into office.

speed, and there is a very short chain of command — the PM works with only around two dozen principal staff. If No 10 were to grow too much, some of this would be lost. There is a need, however, for a stronger political presence in No 10, providing political advice and contacts which neither the private office nor the Cabinet Office can, because they are not supposed to get involved in policies and cannot meet the prime minister's central need: to focus on and manage the government's political strategy and programme.

A beefed-up No 10 policy unit should play a key role in this process, producing crisp papers on key policy areas to articulate the prime minister's political agenda. Such a lean and focused unit is probably preferable to the reintroduction of a piece of Whitehall machinery such as the Central Policy Review Staff created by Edward Heath. The Cabinet Office presently sees its job chiefly as knocking heads together in Whitehall — getting agreement between departments on behalf of the prime minister — and the cabinet secretary acts as the principal manager of this process of government.

right and left since the days of old Labour, ministers at all levels can be selected strictly on merit — producing a government of talents, rather than of interests, to ensure maximum performance. They will be helped to do their jobs if they remain in their departments for longer than the average ministerial spell on the merry-go-round. There is a case for putting publicly identifiable superministers in charge of key areas of the government's overall strategy while retaining responsibilities in their own departments. These individuals would chair the relevant cabinet committees and report directly to the prime minister on these issues.

set out the new style and priorities. Hold regular "awaydays" in which senior officials and ministers can think out loud. Visit the department's front-line posts to get an idea of the pressures and issues. Above all, have a clear view of the half-dozen or so goals to be achieved in the first year, and do not lose sight of them until it is time to move on to the next six. Five years or so after entering No 10, Prime Minister Blair and his party will be facing re-election. They will win if the electorate honours their promises, if their urgency of purpose is still there for all to see, if they have changed the way people think about politics, and if they can demonstrate convincingly that no alternative to New Labour represents a better way forward for the country.

Most Labour supporters would probably be delighted by the thought that a Blair government might get to the point where its only problems are those of success. The Blair Revolution — Can New Labour Deliver? by Peter Mandelson and Roger Liddle is published by Faber, £7.99. To order a copy with free delivery, send a cheque made payable to Guardian Books, 29 Pall Mall, London, W1K 7RF, or telephone 0500 418 419.

The prime mover

SHORTLY after Tony Blair moved into the opposition leader's suite at Westminster, a friend dropped in to see him. Blair's friend knew that he is not especially interested in creature comforts and how things look, but his room seemed particularly austere. "Don't you want to make this a bit more lived in?" his visitor murmured, looking round the room. "No thanks," Blair replied briskly. "My job is to get out of these offices as quickly as possible, not to make them my home."

BLAIR does not carry any animus towards those who do not have the same sympathy with the old right in the party, with their reliance on local-machine politics and deal-making and fixing votes with the trade unions, as he did with the old left. He would then let the others follow up on the point he had made, which I thought was a grown-up thing to do.

IN 1992 Blair and Gordon Brown had both privately warned Smith, then shadow chancellor, of his tax and national insurance proposals the previous autumn. But, out of loyalty to their friend and senior, they had acquiesced in them. It was a mistake from which Blair learned. You can get a hundred little things right, but if you fail on the big points you will lose.

NOTHING infuriates Blair more than London-based journalists purporting to offer insights into a Labour Party that they have little contact with and claiming that the grassroots have no sympathy for his changes.

Party pieces and the past

NOT long ago, in a south London theatre, a host of Labour-supporting celebrities assembled at a Young Labour gala evening. Neil Kinnock, the host for the evening, received a rapturous reception from the two thousand young activists in the audience. The biggest applause of the night went to James Callaghan, a man who represented something few in the hall could remember — Labour in power.

party constantly has to identify ways of reconnecting itself with ordinary voters, speaking their language and voicing their concerns and aspirations. To do this, the party needs to continue to recruit a mass of new members, so as to become ever more representative of ordinary voters, growing strong roots in local neighbourhoods and communities.

A substantial start has been made in implementing these changes, and, as a result, the difference between the party that at its mildest was a thorn in Callaghan's side to the one that cheered him to the rafters 15 years later is enormous. Some have complained of feeling that the party is engaged in a "permanent revolution". But what is wrong with that? Shouldn't any organisation committed to changing society be constantly seeking ways to improve itself? The leadership's view is clear. Tony Blair told the GMB trade union conference last year: "People ask me when I will draw the line under reform. When can we say it is done with? The answer is never."

Tomorrow: youth and questions of right and wrong



Interest-rate masochists kill investment prospects



Larry Elliott

There was a time when Britain was the investment capital of the world but you would have to be older than Madame Jeanne Calment, 121 last week, to remember it. The UK may have been first with the steam engine but since steel, chemicals and electricity powered the second industrial revolution in the late 19th century, Britain has lagged behind.

Ted Heath put the problem rather well back in 1973. At an industrial lunch organised by the Institute of Directors, he said: "The curse of British industry is that it has never anticipated demand. When we [the Heath Government of 1970] came in we were told there weren't sufficient inducements to invest, so we provided the inducements."

Then we were told people were scared of balance of payments difficulties leading to stop-go. So we floated the pound. Then we were told of fears of inflation: we're dealing with that and still you aren't investing enough.

Against this background, Friday's news that manufacturing investment fell by 9 per cent in the final three months of 1995 should have come as no surprise.

British business, the record shows, needs little prompting to put investment plans on hold, preferring to wait until the economy is on the point of

overheating before taking the plunge. By which time, of course, it's too late and the deflation necessitated by demand exceeding supply makes the new plant redundant.

Even so, the Government — as in 1973 — has every reason to be grouchy about the lack of investment over the past three years. The economy has been growing, inflation is low, interest rates have been cut, corporate profitability is strong, and labour is weak and insecure. And yet since the economy emerged from the traumas of ERM membership, investment has barely stirred.

At this point ministers have every reason to throw up their hands and ask what else they are supposed to do.

One answer, provided by Patrick Minford, is that Black Wednesday monetary policy was simply not loose enough, and continues to be far too tight. Professor Minford, one of the Government's panel of independent advisers, says that rates should have come down much further in 1992-93 and should be reduced now by at least 1 percentage point.

Short-term rates fell from 10 per cent to 6 per cent by 1993, but then rose by a 15 per cent devaluation in sterling. But Prof Minford believes base rates should have come crashing down to 2 or 3 per cent. That would have meant that real (inflation adjusted) rates were still in the 1980s, and that rates should be reduced now by at least 1 percentage point.

Indeed, Prof Minford says that the Government's refusal to allow real rates to fall over the past three years has provoked a series of mini-deflationary shocks that are preventing unemployment returning to its natural rate of one million. There are three reasons

why Prof Minford may be right. First, he has read the economy much better than most of his peers and was one of the few economists scornful of the idea that the Black Wednesday-induced devaluation would inevitably lead to a surge in inflation. He argues that although 3 per cent base rates would have led to dearer imports, the effect would have been transitory because of the enormous slack in the labour market.

Second, the Minford thesis is not merely hypothetical. After a far less severe recession in the United States than we had here, real rates were cut to zero and left there until the economy showed unmistakable signs of recovery. US investment rose by an average of 11 per cent a year from 1989 to 1993, Britain averaged just over 2 per cent.

Third, some senior officials see some merit in the Minford thesis. They look at the recent interest rate cycle — a trough of 5.25 per cent, a peak of 8.75 per cent, and a return to 6 per cent — and conclude that the current level is too high.

Prof Minford's chief economist, Paul Droop, said that it was unlikely that inflation would have been allowed to rise so far without some policy tightening and while he believed there was potential for base rates of 3 per cent to trigger a run on sterling, he questioned whether a lower exchange rate would have had the sort of knock-on impact on wages implied by the Treasury model.

However, he also doubted whether slashing base rates would have had a marked impact on investment, since the markets would have responded to the inflationary threat posed by zero real rates by pushing up long-term bond rates, being making investment more expensive.

Yet the cost of capital is only one part of the equation, and a

relatively minor part at that. According to most business surveys, firms want to be sure that demand will be strong, which suggests that the most important factor in the immediate aftermath of a deep recession is giving the economy a big enough stimulus.

In the period most analogous to the post-ERM period — Britain's departure from the Gold Standard in 1931 — the impact of cutting rates to 2 per cent did provide a substantial boost to investment, both in manufacturing and construction. In the next three years Britain's investment as a share of GDP was higher than the European average — the only time in the inter-war period that it was.

There was never really a chance that history would repeat itself in the 1990s.

After Black Wednesday, Norman Lamont simply did not have the clout to challenge the Bank's orthodoxy. This requires that interest-rate policy has only two settings — tight and masochistically tight. Any suggestion that policy should be symmetrical with a period in which monetary policy is deflationary balanced by a period of reflation — is "taking risks with inflation".

Yet as Mr Clarke realised only too well, the failure to boost the construction industry, find work for hundreds of thousands of building workers and float a million house-holders out of negative equity, has led to double jeopardy. First, it has risked the sustainability of the recovery. Second, it risks the government losing the election and being out of power, if not for 121 years, for a very long time indeed. The Chancellor's victory over the Governor, while welcome, has probably come two years too late.

Shattering the homework myth

Debate

Kim Hendry

ARTICLES about working at home usually resonate with optimism, portraying an escape from the straitjacket of modern office life and commuting hell, to freedom and self-employment.

This is the future in which global financial deals will be conducted via computer from rustic cottages and suburban semi.

The reality is far bleaker, particularly when we look at the oldest form of home-based work, manufacturing homework.

Notions of "independence" and "freedom" echo mockingly in the cramped, unsafe living rooms where women and their children toil regularly through the night to meet rush orders for meagre pay.

Homework is easily the most common type of home-based work, and is on the increase in many western economies, including Britain: in "sunrise" industries, such as electronics, plastics and car components, in teleworking as well as in declining manufacturing sectors.

A 1993 European Commis-

sion report stated that homeworking "is a question of major concern in a substantial number of member states", and in Britain the National Group on Homeworking reckons there are one million-plus homeworkers.

A myth surrounding homeworking is that it exists because of the needs of its female workforce, enabling them to combine paid work with their role as carers.

In fact, homeworking can

large capital in creating and perpetuating the demand for homeworkers.

My interviews with 24 owner/managers of small cut-make-and-trim subcontractors revealed that while most homeworkers do work for small workshops or factories, these are usually located at the end of a long subcontracting chain.

C&A, River Island, Dorothy Perkins, Tesco and GUS were some of the famous names

found to be selling garments produced by homeworkers under heavily exploitative conditions.

Homeworking was a key element in the West Midlands clothing sector's emergence in the mid-1970s and its ability to survive competition from "cheap labour" countries like Morocco and India.

Casualised, isolated, with little or no bargaining power, homeworkers provide the industry with much-needed flexibility.

In the West Midlands, the advantages gained can be grouped under four headings. Flexibility: The fashion industry's volatile and competi-

tive nature generates uncertainty. As a result, flexibility is also passed on to the homeworker. Recruitment is usually via word of mouth and companies are able to exploit sewing skills learnt elsewhere. Because homeworkers are paid only for work judged acceptable by the firm, they are forced to supervise their own work.

Increasingly the risks and costs of production are being passed on down the subcontracting chain: from retailer to wholesaler to manufacturer to subcontractor to homeworker.

Clearly, homeworkers have the worst of all worlds. Economically dependent on the firm, they are denied the benefits of employment such as holiday and sick pay, and a regular wage.

Research projects that trace the links in the subcontracting chain are now being set up in the UK. They will provide essential information in the campaign of homeworking groups calling for large retailers to bear legal responsibility for pay and conditions of the homeworkers (and others) who make their clothes.

Kim Hendry has spent the past two years working for the Banking Insurance and Finance Union. Her Masters dissertation, *Invisible Threads*, was completed at the University of Warwick.

Increasingly risks and costs of production are being passed on down subcontracting chain from retailer to homeworker

only be satisfactorily explained through an analysis of demand factors.

In other words, while its use is influenced by employers' access to an abundant supply of low-cost, usually female labour, it is the economic, organisational and/or managerial benefits that homeworking offers to capital, rather than, say, a shortage of women to work in factories, which primarily accounts for its persistence.

These arguments are borne out by a study I did in the West Midlands clothing sector which exposed homeworking's clandestine contribution to the high street fashion trade and the central role of

workers enables employers to avoid many of the costs associated with production, including rent, storage, electricity, even purchase of sewing machines.

Lower labour costs and wages: In addition to all the savings listed above, the price of homeworkers' labour is much cheaper than a factory workforce. There is no holiday or sick pay, redundancy or overtime pay. The wage, usually piecework, also tends to be lower, because dispersed homeworkers exert little bargaining power and because of the low value attached to female labour.

Recruitment, training and quality control: Other

conventional management tasks are also passed on to the homeworker. Recruitment is usually via word of mouth and companies are able to exploit sewing skills learnt elsewhere. Because homeworkers are paid only for work judged acceptable by the firm, they are forced to supervise their own work.

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Tragic 11th hour trade-in of deeply held opposition

Worm's eye

Dan Atkinson

SAD TO say, it is time for MINAF. This is not an off-shoot of the Ministry of Agriculture. It is a device used by the sort of commentator that Hemingway used to call "good grey baggy-pants". Whenever our man is limbering up for a Mill Reef-style gallop on his favourite hobby horse, he prefaces his remarks with: "Making no apology for..." Usually, he is making no apology for returning to the pet topic he had droned on about the previous week.

With his MINAF, therefore, the worldwide revolt against free trade, touched on last week, will be further examined today. And if that sounds like a baggy-pants get-out — too bad.

They used to say a Communist is a man who stands in a town square at noon shouting: "It's midnight". The hours roll by and, sure enough, the time comes when our friend is right, however briefly.

By contrast, a main-

stream anti-capitalist reformer would appear, on recent evidence, to be a man who performs the same feat with the important difference that at 11.15pm he loses his nerve and announces his full and irreversible conversion to the cause for midday.

In Germany, France, Spain and Britain, in Australia and New Zealand, the story of the last 15 years is of disintegration of opposition to the financial interest. Public figures thunder in unison that the "global economy" is a "given". The civil authorities' chief function is now to make their territory as attractive as possible for the moguls of "inward investment". In this strange new world, the sole distinguishing feature of movements and organisations originally formed to combat the financial interest is their enthusiasm for ever-more-active measures to pummel the citizenry into shape for the permanent international slave auction.

How this came about is still not clear. It could be that the free movement of capital as an idea was sold to proponents of social democracy on the grounds

that it was "international" (worthy), "technological" (exciting) and resulted from "fundamental worldwide shifts" (intimidating). So successful has this campaign been that when France suggested mild curbs on television programme imports it brought forth the sort of exhortation usually reserved for those proposing to revive the Nuremberg Decrees.

The immediate result of this collapse of resistance has been to jam the mechanism whereby society can make choices. Weighing the pros and cons of unfettered free trade is no longer a purposeful activity for a citizen of the West, because the opportunity to vote against free movement of capital and goods no longer exists.

Or rather, it no longer exists in the mainstream. Instead it is popping up in the midst of alarming new movements in France, Germany and the United States. Needless to say, the financial interest, and its front men didn't notice any of this and still don't take the threat seriously.

Too busy, one imagines, totting up their "performance related bonuses".

Wrong forecasts prove surprisingly helpful

Briefing

Richard Thomas

A LEADING City economist once gave a classic riposte to accusations that his forecasts were consistently wide of the mark. "I was wrong", he admitted. "But I was wrong for all the right reasons."

But there is something to be said for mistakes — you can learn from them. Some new research uses the way forecasters get their numbers wrong to predict the economic future.

Leo Doyle, an analyst at Kleinwort Benson, has constructed a "surprise index", based on the differences between what economists thought would happen and what actually did.

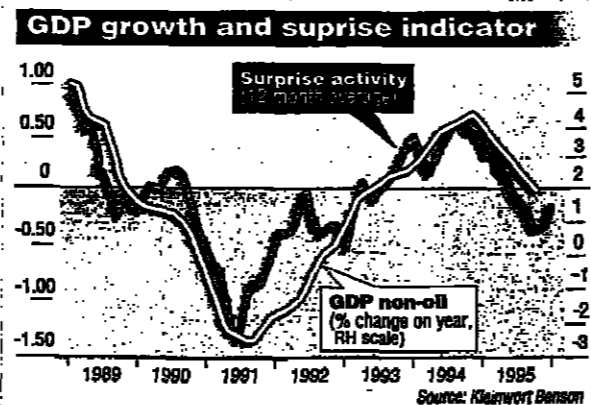
He has taken a wide range

of the most important economic series — gross domestic product, retail sales, industrial output, unemployment, narrow money (M4), broad money (M4), CBI industrial trends and distributive trades, car sales, consumer credit — and compared the median forecast by City economists with the actual outcome.

Each element was weighted using a rule-of-thumb measure of their significance. GDP accounts for 20 per cent of the total, industrial output and high street sales 12 per cent each, and the tiddlers, cars and credit, each make up 4 per cent.

He admits that many City economists lose little sleep over their monthly predictions — "many flick their fingers and say 0.3 per cent for everything" — but reckons they give a good feel of expectations.

Mr Doyle has charted the standard deviation of the median market view from the



real numbers. When the surprise indicator is above zero, the data turned out to be stronger than the pundits expected: in other words, were "surprisingly" good. And vice-versa when the index drops into minus figures.

The chart shows how the strong activity in 1994 caught analysts out, and the way in which weak recent numbers have surprised in the opposite direction — although analysts are catching on.

"Nearly all the main turning points have been missed by forecasters," Mr Doyle says.

"It seems reasonable to expect, therefore, that the early stages of each downturn or upturn will have been accompanied by a tendency for monthly releases in the same direction. Today's surprise may be indicative of tomorrow's reality."

Economists may not notice a pattern, because they treat each release separately. But together they might amount to a missed turning point.

The graph appears to back the theory, with the surprise index running in close parallel to, and usually foreshadowing, the rate of growth in non-oil GDP.

What does it tell us about the immediate future? The surprises are currently on the downside, which hints at an impending downturn. The last time the index crossed from the top to the bottom half of the graph, there was a deep recession.

The very recent drift back towards the balance point could mean that the landing will be softer this time around, or that economists have become a more pessimistic bunch than in the late 1980s.

But there is a problem. If his index gained credence, economists might start using it to alter their forecasts. This would reduce surprises, and thereby blur the index.

So Mr Doyle's innovative index will only work if it remains secret. Oh dear.

Indicators

TODAY — GER Current account (Dec).
FR Inflation (Dec).
TOMORROW — US PPI (Jan).
US Retail sales (Jan).
US Consumer confidence (Feb).
JP Retail sales value (Jan).
WEDNESDAY — UK Gilt auction (2.50 8% 2021).
FR GDP (Jan).
US Inflation (Jan).

UK Trade balance (Dec).
THURSDAY — GER Bundesbank Council meeting.
UK Non-EU trade balance (Jan).
UK Net corporation tax (Jan).
US Global trade (Dec).
FR Unemployment rate (Jan).
FRIDAY — JP Unemployment rate (Jan).
JP BoJ Tankan (Mig Di) (Feb).
JPY BoJ Tankan Research

Tourist rates — bank sells

Australia 1.98	France 7.43	Italy 2.370	Singapore 2.13
Austria 15.15	Germany 2.176	Malta 0.54	S Africa 5.74
Belgium 44.50	Greece 367.00	Netherlands 2.45	Spain 182.00
Canada 2.06	H Kong 11.72	N Zealand 2.25	Sweden 10.25
Cyprus 0.70	India 58.43	Norway 9.53	Switzerland 1.78
Denmark 8.42	Ireland 0.9550	Portugal 227.00	Turkey 95.956
Finland 8.89	Israel 4.79	Saudi Arabia 5.74	US 1.5080

NOTICE TO
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ACCESS ACCOUNTHOLDERS

Clydesdale Bank PLC announces that the interest rate charged to its personal PREFERRED RATE ACCESS ACCOUNTHOLDERS will be reduced to 0.585% per month for both Advances and other transactions with effect from 4th March 1996.

From 4th March 1996 interest and charges are equivalent to an Annual Percentage Rate (APR) as stated in the examples below. The APR figure in brackets is the APR exclusive of the card fee.

CREDIT LIMIT	APR	CREDIT LIMIT	APR
£500	9.4% (7.2%)	£1,500	7.9% (7.2%)
£750	8.6% (7.2%)	£2,000	7.7% (7.2%)
£1,000	8.3% (7.2%)	£3,000	7.6% (7.2%)

Condition 5 (b), (c), (d) and (e) of the Conditions of Use will be amended accordingly with effect from 4th March 1996.

Clydesdale Bank

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Sunday best... Alberto Tomba on the superb second run which lifted him from sixth place to first in the Sierra Nevada world championship slalom. 'I was just going for a medal. To win two golds is beyond my wildest dreams,' said the Italian, Friday's giant slalom winner. DIETER ENGLER/CH

Athletics

Ladejo runs into form and trouble

Black from winning a unique third successive European 400m title in Helsinki in 1994... D'HAINE LADEJO passed off his blazon-pointing antics at the expense of the French in the men's 4x400 relay in Glasgow on Saturday as a little crowd-pleasing fun at the end of the international meeting... British officials were not amused. For this is a serious sport. Give an athlete a millimetre of self-expression and the whole thing could deteriorate into entertainment... The reigning European outdoor and indoor 400m champion, largely educated in the United States, has never been short of confidence and his earlier victory in the individual 400 suggested he may retain his indoor title in Stockholm next month... 'There is so much more there - oo, so much more,' he said, his public face positively glowing with conviction in his own ability... Ladejo's career came to a juddering halt last season, when a trapped nerve cloaked his customary ebullience, and doubts linger that he would not have prevented Roger

first victory for 18 months and now returns to South Africa to continue her Olympic preparations. The heroine of the day was Vicky Lawrence, second in the 800m. Contacted at 9.30am, when Vicky Stern was taken ill overnight, she was driven from Blackpool and arrived less than 30 minutes before her event. Her reward may be a place in the European indoor team, which will be selected tomorrow and announced on Wednesday... Michael Johnson ran the fastest 400m indoors this year, 45.32, at the Mobil Invitational in Fairfax, Virginia. It put Ladejo's 46.39 in context and did little for Mark Everitt's confidence either: he was almost two seconds behind... At another invitation meeting in Los Angeles John Godina, world shot-put champion last year, won the event with 21.23 metres, the best in the world this year. He is attempting to become the first American to compete in both the shot and discus in the Olympics since 1924... His mark was well short of the world indoor record of 22.68 of Randy Barnes, who will be second to Godina.

Racing

All systems go for Alderbrook

Chris Hawkins

ON A Saturday rich with pointers for the future, Alderbrook Draborgie, Rough Quest and Lo Stregone put up performances which had the bookmakers running for cover... Anyone not already on Alderbrook for the Smurfit Champion Hurdle at Cheltenham two weeks tomorrow will have to watch the race as a mere academic exercise or be prepared to bet odds-on... Even with Ladbrokes it is the best price available (Hill's go 8-1) after the reigning champion toyed with the opposition in Saturday's Levy Board Hurdle at Kempton... Kim Bailey reported Alderbrook 'absolutely fine' yesterday morning and, with regular rider Norman Williamson expecting to return to the fray on Thursday, all is set for a repeat of last season's imperious victory... Not even a slight mistake at the second last, where he got in a bit too close, impaired Alderbrook's progress at Kempton as he beat Mack The Knife by three and a half lengths... Right Win was the disappointment of the race, Richard Hannon thought the ground was too soft for his six-year-old and would only consider running him in the Champion on better going... One definite Champion Hurdle absentee is Dato Star, who was yesterday ruled out for the rest of the season by trainer Malcolm Jefferson... Last year's top bumper horse crumpled on landing after pinging the fourth-last flight in Haydock's Select Hurdle last Friday. Though seemingly none the worse immediately after the race, Dato Star has damaged his rear-hind hock, an injury which will necessitate surgery. It will be five months before the can come back into training... Martin Pipe seems to have unearthed a star in the French mare Draborgie who jumped well from the front when winning the Research into M.E. Chase by a distance at Kempton... Hill's shortened Draborgie from 7-2 to 5-1 favourite for the Arkle at Cheltenham and

it is hard to see her being beaten, except by the fences, or indeed anything being able to tie up with her... Rough Quest, who has to be nursed in his races, was given a wonderfully sympathetic ride by Richard Dunwoody to win the Racing Post Chase and enter calculations for the Tote Cheltenham Gold Cup... 'He's a stone better going left-handed, so to talk of the Gold Cup now is not as stupid as it might sound,' said winning trainer Terry Casey... After a slow jump at the last Percy Smollett finished fast, beaten just over a length, and is knocking on the door... David Nicholson, his trainer, completed a double with Viking Flagship, now 8-1 to complete the Queen Mother Champion Chase hat-trick, and Zabadi, who did his Triumph Hurdle prospects no harm with a gutsy defeat of Mistinguet... Zabadi came to the last with his ears pricked but began to look around him and Adrian Maguire put his poor jump there down to lack of concentration. Zabadi showed plenty of resolution, although I

understand the stable may have a preferred Triumph hope in Love The Blues... At Haydock, Lo Stregone was a convincing winner of the Greenalls Grand National Trial and is now 10-1 favourite for the big one at Aintree. This horse stays all day and the four and a half miles at Aintree will not trouble him... All but Tartan Tyrant were a spent force with a mile to run here including Party Politics and Jodami, the latter apparently gurgling and finishing distressed. Earth Summit pulled up lame and is out for the season... Party Politics was well beaten but Nick Gaselee was not too dismayed, pointing out that the freeze-up had prevented him getting sufficient work into the old horse who, because he is tubed, cannot go swimming to keep fit... Sound Man, favourite for the Queen Mother Champion Chase, has recovered from a slight injury sustained when losing at Ascot. Trainer Edward O'Grady reported the horse had gone lame behind, but was sound again and will be galloped later this week.

Plumpton runners and riders

Table listing Plumpton runners and riders with columns for race number, runner name, rider, and other details.

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Southwell all-weather Flat card

Table listing Southwell all-weather Flat card with columns for race number, runner name, rider, and other details.

Newcastle with guide to the latest form

Table listing Newcastle with guide to the latest form with columns for race number, runner name, rider, and other details.

Advertisement for 'Homeward bound' featuring a RAC logo and the phone number 0800 550 550.

Advertisement for 'Peace of Mind' and 'Quick as a flash' featuring a dog and the number 4.40 York.

Soccer

Coca-Cola Cup semi-final, second leg: Leeds United 3, Birmingham City 0 (Leeds win 5-1 on aggregate)

Wilkinson finds Wembley way

Ian Ross

TO THE strains of a club anthem penned in a different age...

It was a moment to savour for the young and the young at heart...

On that occasion Leeds famously lost 1-0 to Sunderland...

"I have waited a long time for this moment - 30 odd years, said Howard Wilkinson...

The first half, a microcosm of Leeds's season, produced a mirror image of last week's four goalless draw...

Leeds's initial hesitancy, which at times verged on timidity, was understandable because teams managed by Barry Fry do not tend to...

The Yorkshire club's fans had anticipated an onslaught but it did not materialise...

The South African missed three presentable opportunities but did at least get the satisfaction of poking in the opening goal on 54 minutes...



Jump shot... Steve Claridge tries his luck, which was definitely out at Elland Road yesterday; he missed a penalty too

PHOTOGRAPH: TOM JENKINS

evitably, the chief culprit as Wilkinson had preferred him to Brolin, the crowd favourite who was restricted to six minutes as a late substitute.

The South African missed three presentable opportunities but did at least get the satisfaction of poking in the opening goal on 54 minutes...

when the 2-1 advantage that Leeds had accrued at St Andrews became a bridge too far for Birmingham.

Thereafter it was a stroll. If nothing else, Tony Yeboah's magnificent overhead kick three minutes after Masling's close-range strike guaranteed that a strangely soulless afternoon would be remembered for more than just its outcome.

It was all over and yet, typically, Leeds still felt inclined to proffer the hand of friendship.

Kelly's clumsy challenge on Sheridan presented Birmingham with a penalty but Claridge, on possibly his last appearance before he moves to Leicester City, struck the foot of a post - his club's 14th miss from the spot in the last 23 attempts.

Brian Deane headed in a third from McAllister's cross with five minutes remaining, his sixth goal of the season...

but he was only adding to the script rather than twisting the plot.

Leeds: Uthoff; Latic; Kelly, Bentley, Westhead, Dorjo (Padole, 17min), Wallace, McAllister, Palmer, Dwyer, Yaboshi, Masling (Booth, 54).

Birmingham City: Grimley; Poole, Edwards, Johnson, Whyte (Bunt, 60), Sheridan, Richardson, Forsyth (Dowson, 4-5, 7min), Claridge, Francis (Brown, 82), Redmond (Dimes (Kewley)).

Premier Division

Aberdeen 0, Rangers 1

Gascoigne sees yellow and goal

Patrick Glenn

IN AN untidy but crucial match at Pittodrie, Paul Gascoigne showed once again that his tongue is as sharp as his feet by racking up his 13th caution of the season as well as the winning goal...

Apparently capable of being simultaneously tormented and inspired, Gascoigne demonstrated that he is also given to becoming knackered and was taken to six minutes from the end, clearly in need of resuscitation.

The Aberdeen players could have done with a share of the oxygen, as Gascoigne had left them semi-comatose with his 31st-minute penalty. He had already been booked for a foul sent when Robertson played Laudrup down the left and the Dane cut inside Irvine towards the box.

Irvine's challenge from behind was surprisingly ineffectual, unlike the sweet little flick with the right foot with which Gascoigne rolled the conversion as far as possible to the right of Watt.

It was during Aberdeen's largely unobtrusive push for the equaliser in the second half that Rangers created enough opportunities to win the match handsomely. None, however, was more blatant than Gascoigne's.

Watt made a wonderful save at the feet of the marauding Laudrup, but the winger regained his balance and the ball and sent it into the path of Gascoigne, who looked at an empty goal from 10 yards out. Trying to walk the ball past the stranded Glas, he merely pushed it over the line for a goal-kick.

"If Aberdeen had equalised, the lads wouldn't have forgiven me for that," said Gascoigne. "I simply tried to be a little too clever." Between fathering his first child and, according to a Sunday tabloid, being shown the door by the mother, the bold engine has suffered another colourful week.

Aberdeen: Watt, Grant, Irvine, Smith, McKinnon (Booth, 22min), Bernard, Wilson, Glass, Miller, Shearer, Doolan, Ferguson (Goran, Moore, Percie, McLennan, Brown, Robertson, Miller, Gascoigne (Van Veen, 84), McGill, Ferguson (McClelland, 90), Laudrup.

Rangers: H. Dallas (Motherwell).

Premiership: Blackburn Rovers 2, Liverpool 3

Evans thankful as Flowers is freaked out

Cynthia Bateman

THIS was probably a just result but it was not achieved by entirely just means, since the biggest players of the afternoon were Lady Luck, the groundsman and the referee, a trio who combined to produce some bizarre effects.

An early indication that this was going to be an interesting afternoon came in the 10th minute when Flowers got down to stop an innocuous 30-yard shot from Collymore only for the ball to hit a divot and bounce over his shoulder.

One almost expected chants of "sack the groundsman", and Liverpool's manager Roy Evans said: "It was a freak goal. Stan thought it was such a poor effort, he turned away. But we are thankful for small mercies."

Liverpool's second and third goals also left Flowers, who made some super saves in between times, bemused. In the 21st minute Collymore's 25-yard free-kick evaded the wall and sped between the stranded goalkeeper and the far post.

Thomas's strike 20 minutes from time was hit so hard that Flowers could not stop it looping over him into the net. With the wide men Ripley and Wilcox playing together for the first time this season, Rovers were in better fettle than they had been for a long time. It was Shearer, dogged by markers, who nevertheless provided the ammunition to put them back in the game just before the half-hour.

Liverpool stroled after that, but paid the price for complacency when they messed about instead of clearing Sherwood put an end to the nonsense with a firm strike from close range with six minutes left to set up an exciting finish. Rovers were adamant they deserved a penalty when Barnes appeared to handle just before the end, and Shearer was unable to score in a home league game for the first time this season.

The three points keeps us in touch," said Evans, claiming that the championship was only "in the back of my mind", with a place in Europe the priority. Liverpool are nine points behind Newcastle but unbeaten in 14 games.

SCORERS: Blackburn: Shearer, Wilcox (21), Shearer (21), Thomas (20). Liverpool: Shearer, Flowers (10 and 21), Thomas (20), Collymore (10 and 21), Thomas (20), Shearer (10 and 21), Thomas (20), Collymore (10 and 21), Thomas (20).

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That Armstrong was able to maintain control of the ball on a beast of a pitch says much for the striker's steady improvement. His goal was more convincing," said Spurs' manager Gerry Francis.

The short-passing game he favours had to be abandoned as the mud defeated the ball-playing winger Fox and Simon. Mind you, they swung over 15 corners between them without unduly troubling Woods; the pitch cannot be blamed for that.

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Premiership: Man City 3, Newcastle 3

Asprilla 'butt' a headache for Keegan

Commentary

David Lacey

THE damnation of Faustino apart, Saturday's 3-3 draw between Manchester City and Newcastle United at Maine Road was a triumph for the individual which a combination of teamwork, ever-increasing speed and a stifling denial of space has spent the past three decades striving to eradicate.

It took a rare foreign mix of talents to recall skills once taken for granted among British footballers. For City, Georgi Kinkladze, a Georgian, gave an exhibition of close control and creative play which belonged to the age of Carter and Mansour. For Newcastle, Philippe Albert, a Belgian, not only scored twice but was such a profound influence between the penalty areas that images of Jim Baxter at his finest sprang to mind.

What a pity that the only part of the match video on which the Football Association must focus concerns the two occasions when the cameras caught Faustino Asprilla at his worst, the Colombian having previously encapsulated the spirit of the occasion with its outstanding moment.

It is a matter of pictorial record that early in the second half Asprilla, having been grabbed by Curie as the pair raced for the ball near the byline, elbowed the Manchester City captain in the face. And when hostilities were briefly resumed as the final whistle sounded, Asprilla again caught Curie, this time with a curt nod.

Asprilla will be fortunate if he escapes a disreputable charge and suspension. Kevin Keegan clearly has Colombia's answer to the pre-Selhurst Eric Cantona on his hands, a combination of brilliance and banditry with a shared dislike of challenges from behind.

"He's from Latin America, that's the way they are," was Keegan's excuse for Asprilla, although the Newcastle manager did not get a clear first-hand view of either incident. The FA may be less charitable now that it has decided that flying elbows are not after all, part and parcel of the game.

Whatever happens to Asprilla, Keegan has some important thinking to do in the matter of tactics and strategy. The message from Maine Road was that Newcastle may win the Premiership at home or not at all. Away, they have begun to leak goals and points.

When all the excitement and fuss of Saturday's game had died down, the stark fact remained that although Newcastle always had the capacity to score, and while Albert's low drive clipped the instep of Quinn in bringing the scores level again with eight minutes remaining it was no surprise. Well though City performed, another two home points had been dropped and they are in the bottom three.

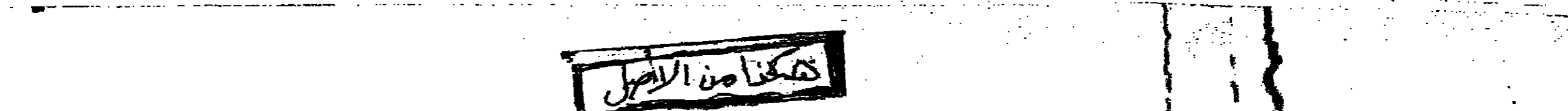
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...rilla bus
...adaché
...Keegan



Beaten by a head... Bolton's goalkeeper Keith Branagan is too late to prevent David Beckham giving Manchester United the lead at Burnden Park

PHOTOGRAPH: MICHAEL STEELE

Ipswich tear up the script for Taylor's return

Martin Thorpe at Vicarage Road on a disappointment for the man expected to lead Watford once more into the promised land

ONE daily newspaper calls him a turnip, but according to the Watford Independent Supporters' Association he is a god. Both cannot be right. Perhaps the truth about Graham Taylor is that he is neither a vegetable nor a deity but something in between - a human being.

Having inspired one of the most meteoric rises of any club in history, this basically honest and likeable man was seduced by the success of his powers into thinking he could take on the hardest soccer job

in the land. But how many of us can say we have never crossed the line between self-belief and self-delusion? His confidence now badly dented and his powers, as in some Arabian fairytale, taken away as inexplicably as they were granted, Taylor returned on Saturday to the scene of his greatest triumph. Where else to search for the lost magic?

Whether this decision will turn out to be as ill-advised as the many that categorised the last three years of his managerial career, time will tell. Taylor asks to be judged in another three years on his attempt to restore struggling Watford to their halcyon days. "Watford has changed," he says, "but we all can still dream our dreams. Let's give it a go and see what happens."

Our relationship has been that of brothers," says Taylor of his former chairman, "and he helped convince me I was fighting shy of Watford because of how the media would react. I could not allow that to happen."

The 51-year-old Taylor is team manager until the end of the season, when, he says, he will put away the tracksuit for ever and become general manager. Luther Blissett, now 38 but the club's greatest striker, has been plucked from the Vicarage Road commercial office and part-time

Eales below par but Westner is slippery

ENGLAND'S Paul Eales played steady golf to finish with a two-under-par 70 in the FNB Players Championship in Durban yesterday but lost his hold on second place when the four-stroke overnight leader Wayne Westner was challenged by an inspired Jose Coezer. The Argentinian's inwards 31, for a final round of 65, obliged the South African Westner to sink a dramatic 10ft putt on the 18th for his one-stroke victory.

Southgate struggle but go top

SOUTHGATE went top of hockey's National League for the fourth time this winter after a weekend when all five challengers for the men's title were forced to battle and only two of the top eight sides won, writes Pat Rowley.

Stich back in title mode

MICHAEL STICH ended the Croatian Goran Ivanisevic's 14-match winning streak by taking the European Cup tennis championship title in Antwerp yesterday, beating the man who triumphed in Zagreb and Dubai by 6-3, 6-2, 7-6. The German world No. 13, playing only his second event since tearing an ankle ligament in October, dominated from the net in the first two sets in a battle between two big servers - who together had hit more than 120 aces in their four previous matches in the tournament.

England's double berth

THE ENGLAND men's and women's badminton squads both won through to the world team finals in Hong Kong in May after heartening performances in Prague on Saturday, writes Richard Jago. The men beat the Netherlands 3-2 while the women had a minor triumph in winning 3-2 against Sweden, the second seeds in their qualifying pool.

Higgins snookered by system

THE defending champion John Higgins reeled off six frames in a row, including breaks of 104 and 100, to win his fifth ranking title in 16 months by beating the world No. 40 Rod Lawler 9-3 in the Swales Shop International in Swindon, writes Clive Everton.

Basketball

COLIN IRISH may have been in line to become the first man to be elected player-coach until his team game until his team succumbed to colds, fever and hot shooting. Blame it on their defences.

Bears buried as defences take a break

The Worrthing Bears, beaten 90-84 by the London Towers in the 7-Up Trophy final last night, were left in a position to challenge for the Budweiser League title until last weekend. Since then they have lost three in a row.

Ice Hockey

WELLS WORLD CUP: Group A: Pakistan 1-0 Zimbabwe (15.30); Group B: Lithuania 1-0 Latvia (19.30).

Weekend results

SOCCER

Table with 4 columns: League, Home, Away, Result. Includes Premier League, Football League, and various cup competitions.

BASEBALL

Table with 4 columns: Team, Home, Away, Result. Includes Major League Baseball and other leagues.

CRICKET

Table with 4 columns: Match, Home, Away, Result. Includes Test matches, One Day Internationals, and county cricket.

ENDSLEIGH LEAGUE

Table with 4 columns: Team, Home, Away, Result. Includes various regional leagues.

WOMEN'S FOOTBALL

Table with 4 columns: Team, Home, Away, Result. Includes women's league matches.

NETBALL

Table with 4 columns: Team, Home, Away, Result. Includes netball league matches.

BELL'S SCOTTLISH LEAGUE

Table with 4 columns: Team, Home, Away, Result. Includes Scottish football leagues.

RUSSIAN LEAGUE

Table with 4 columns: Team, Home, Away, Result. Includes Russian football leagues.

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DUTCH LEAGUE

Table with 4 columns: Team, Home, Away, Result. Includes Dutch football leagues.

RUSSIAN LEAGUE

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RUSSIAN LEAGUE

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE LEAGUE

Table with 4 columns: Team, Home, Away, Result. Includes National Conference League matches.

GOLF

Table with 4 columns: Player, Score, Result. Includes golf tournament results.

RUSSIAN LEAGUE

Table with 4 columns: Team, Home, Away, Result. Includes Russian football leagues.

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CROSS COUNTRY

Table with 4 columns: Team, Home, Away, Result. Includes cross country race results.

ICE HOCKEY

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Ladejo runs into trouble, page 13
Leeds face Villa in final, page 14

Asprilla awaits his fate, page 14

SportsGuardian

WORLD CUP CRICKET, GROUP B: ENGLAND v SOUTH AFRICA

England batting folds again

Duck for Atherton in 78-run drubbing

Mike Selvey in Rawalpindi

CONSIDER this for a scenario. England qualify for the quarter-finals of the World Cup in fourth place and are drawn to meet Sri Lanka, whom they defeat. They play New Zealand in the semi-final, winning that as well. From there it is just one good performance against the best of the rest before an open-top bus ride through London and a team-of-the-year award.

There can be no other explanation: England must be playing as badly as they are for a reason. It has to be part

GROUP A	P	W	L	T	Nr	Pls	RR
India	3	3	0	0	0	8	1.63
Australia	3	2	1	0	0	7	1.54
West Indies	3	2	1	0	0	7	1.51
Kenya	3	2	0	1	0	7	2.03
Zimbabwe	3	1	2	0	0	6	2.29

GROUP B	P	W	L	T	Nr	Pls	RR
South Africa	3	3	0	0	0	8	2.11
New Zealand	3	2	1	0	0	7	1.64
England	3	2	1	0	0	7	1.54
Pakistan	3	1	2	0	0	6	2.29
Holland	3	1	2	0	0	6	1.88
UAE	3	0	3	0	0	6	2.28

of Raymond Illingworth's masterplan.

Yesterday Rawalpindi became the latest venue to see England trampled underfoot by a cocky, confident and thoroughly competent South Africa side. It was not the fault of the bowlers; they performed creditably, with dew on the ground and then a light drizzle that kept the ball wet, to dismiss their opponents with the last ball of the innings for 230.

It was a total well within England's compass, given a sound start. Instead they lost Mike Atherton to the fourth ball of the innings, and the key wicket of Graeme Hick for 14 before the eighth over was out.

Thereafter South Africa never let go. Graham Thorpe, the only batsman other than Hick in any sort of form, made a polished 46, and although there was some defiance at the end from Phil De-

Freitas, Dominic Cork and Darren Gough it was like Butch and Sundance blazing away at the Bolivian army. When Gough was finally yanked by Craig Matthews to bring proceedings to a close with 5½ overs to spare, England, at one stage in danger of not making three figures, had reached 132.

It was their seventh defeat against these opponents in the last eight outings, and Illingworth's view that a fairer reflection of the recent 8-1 drubbing in South Africa would have been a 4-3 win for England had the ring of a knocked-out boxer claiming the fight because he had been ahead on points. Illingworth did not quibble about this seventh defeat, however, declining to attend the press conference and leaving it to the captain.

Atherton said that England had fancied themselves getting the runs, "but South Africa made life difficult. We batted below par and they bowled a really tight line. And when you are on a confidence high, as they are, then things seem to click."

"As for us, we are not batting with any flair or confidence. It's not through lack of preparation; we are working hard. Quite simply there are too many batsmen out of form and we cannot keep playing games with just one or two [in form]. You expect some high scores from the subcontinent and need at least four in form to chase them."

Solving the problem may not be easy, for England have played all but one of their qualifying matches; they finish by playing Pakistan next Sunday. Tomorrow they head for Karachi and intend to practise diligently in the nets before playing a game on Friday against a Karachi Cricket Association side, whom they are confident of beating.

Shaun Pollock, Famie de Villiers (who played in place of the unwell Allan Donald), Matthews and Brian McMillan were no slouches yesterday, and Pat Symcox produced a timely spell of off-spin out of the rough against England's middle-order clutch of left-handers. But well as South Africa bowled, it was a third-rate batting effort. Atherton, who can scarcely bat his eyelids at the moment, hung his bat out to Pollock and Hick, who with Thorpe is holding things together these days, chipped gently to mid-wicket when seemingly well set.

The experiment with Neil Smith opening was not a great success, for although Atherton had quite rightly



Turning point... England, having restricted South Africa to 230, quickly lose their captain

moved back to the top of the order. It was at the expense of Alec Stewart. Pinch-hitters are all very well - Palframan, badly missed by Cork when he had seven, contributed half of a 56-run opening stand for South Africa in 13 overs - but the 230 total demanded a more orthodox approach, given the attack, than Smith's 11 in a dozen overs. He looked out of his depth.

And Stewart's run-out, when he failed to ground his bat, was symptomatic of his cricket at present.

If any spark of encouragement came from the game it was in the batting of Thorpe - who nudged, pushed and manoeuvred his way to the highest individual score of the match before chopping Symcox into Palframan's gloves - and the bowling of Peter Martin in particular and Cork, Gough and DeFreitas.

The bowlers chipped away at the South African batsmen, rarely allowing them to settle, and might well have dis-

missed the team for around 180 had not Jonty Rhodes, with a perky 37 from 32 balls, contributed at exactly the right time.

In a game with no outstanding candidate, Rhodes's innings and his inspirational fielding, which on a bad day is out of this world, were sufficient to earn him the Man of the Match award.

● Sri Lanka, who went to the top of Group A without bowling a ball yesterday as West Indies forfeited their match in Colombo, are worried by their lack of action. "The lack of competition is a concern for us as we have to wait 10

days after playing Zimbabwe [last Wednesday] for our next match, against India," said the manager Duleep Mendis.

Sri Lanka were awarded two points because of West Indies' refusal to travel to the island after a bomb blast in Colombo on January 31 killed more than 80 people and injured 1,200. Sri Lanka also picked up two points when Australia pulled out of their match on February 17 for the same reason.

● Brian Lara has a stomach bug but the West Indies batsman should be fit to face Kenya in Pune on Thursday.

Premiership: Bolton 0, Manchester Utd 6

Title gap narrows as Bolton are hit for six

David Lacey

MANCHESTER United's pursuit of Newcastle at the top of the Premiership broke from a trot to a gallop at Burnden Park yesterday. Bolton Wanderers, for whom relegation now looks a formality, were swept aside as United moved to within four points of Kevin Keegan's waver team.

Clearly taking their cue from Newcastle's discomfort in the 3-0 draw with Manchester City the previous afternoon, United dazed Bolton with two early goals then prostrated them with four more in the last 20 minutes.

United travel to St James' Park, where Newcastle have yet to drop a point, a week today for a match they have to win if the championship is seriously to be opened up. Presumably this lay at the back of Alex Ferguson's mind as he took off first Giggs, who had plagued Bolton, and then Cantona. Both played with minor strains, not that one would have noticed.

The changes made little difference. If anything they worsened the already hapless plight of a Bolton defence that simply did not have the speed or organisation to keep the opposition out. Cole redeemed a couple of misses with his 10th goal of the season. Scholes came off the bench to score twice in four minutes, bringing his total to 13, and Butt got into the act in the closing seconds.

If the distinctions between top and bottom had become blurred at Molineux Road, no such doubts lingered yesterday. Burnden Park may be little more than 10 minutes' drive from Old Trafford but the distance in quality between United and Bolton amounted to more than a few miles. Perhaps quality is the wrong word. Bolton do not lack attacking quality and the persistence of Lee and Sellars on their flanks, augmented by the diligence in midfield of Curic and Thompson, gave them a respectable momentum.

United, however, possessed more know-how; in addition they possessed more pace, as much in moving the ball around as in sprinting past opponents to receive it. And essentially they possessed Giggs, once more starting game on the left after

Sharpe's back injury had restored Beckham to the United right.

After two minutes a 25-yard drive from Curic found Schmelchel flinging himself through the air to fist the ball clear. Then the bulk of Bolton's optimism expired. In the fourth minute United took the lead and they were two ahead by the quarter-hour.

The opening goal was scored by Beckham but was all about Giggs. Gathering a pass from Keane, the Welshman sprinted clear of Lee and Green, flicked the ball up and produced an audacious volley which dipped over the goalkeeper's head before bouncing down off the bar and striking a post. Beckham headed in the rebound.

Cole, looking confident everywhere except in front of the net, instigated a smart crossfield move in the 10th minute but then headed Beckham's centre wide when in a perfect position to score. The next time Beckham crossed, from a corner, Bruce's head increased United's lead. It was their captain's first league goal for 11 months.

When Bolton drove forward, as they often did, they were in peril immediately a move broke down. Yet as Curic began to run at defenders more effectively after half-time Bolton briefly harboured thoughts of a recovery. Cole did nothing to disillusion them when he gathered a pass from Giggs with time and space to score but shot over.

There, however, Bolton's interest in the contest finally ended. After 69 minutes Cole turned sharply past Coleman and scored United's third off the underside of the bar.

Cole then set up Scholes's first goal in the 75th, the shot going in off Coleman, and Scholes scored his second, three minutes later, by diverting one from McClair, the other substitute, past Braagan. Cole's was the assist that enabled Butt to add a sixth at the end.

Obviously for Newcastle their old boy was at least beginning to look the part. It was United's eighth successive victory.

Bolton Wanderers: Branagan, Green, Fairclough, Coleman, Phillips, Lee (McClair), Zeman, Curic, Thompson, Sellars, Blissett, De Freitas.

Manchester United: Schmelchel, Irwin, Bruce, Palframan, P Neville, Beckham, Butt, Keane, Giggs, McClair, 57, Cantona (Scholes, 75), Cole. Referee: D J Gallagher (Banbury).

Photograph, page 15

Scoreboard

SOUTH AFRICA	INDONESIA
G Krieger not out 38	M A Atherton c Palframan b Pollock 6
T S J Palframan c Russell b Martin 26	M K Smith b de Villiers 11
W J George c Russell b Gough 16	D A Hick c de Villiers b de Villiers 14
D J Cullinan c DeFreitas 24	B P Thorpe c Palframan b Symcox 46
J N Kallis c Russell b Gough 37	A J Smith not out 7
N Rhodes b Martin 27	N H Palframan c Palframan 7
B J McMillan b Smith 11	B Symcox 18
P L Symcox c Palframan b Gough 11	R Huzar c Rhodes b Pollock 18
P J Symcox c Thorpe b Martin 7	D D Cork b Matthews 17
C G Matthews not out 22	P A J DeFreitas run out 22
P de Villiers c Smith b Gough 15	D Gough b Matthews 11
Extras (bt, wc, nb) 7	P J Martin not out 4
Total (50 overs) 230	Total (44.3 overs) 182
Fall of wickets 26, 35, 58, 127, 163, 196, 198, 222, 212	Fall of wickets 0, 22, 33, 62, 82, 87, 87, 138, 141
South Africa won by 78 runs.	South Africa won by 78 runs.

Apology sought for 'buffoon' jibe

PAKISTANI journalists are seeking an apology from Mike Atherton over an unflattering remark made by the England captain to one of their colleagues after yesterday's match, writes Mike Selvey.

Atherton was asked a long, rambling question by a local journalist, Asghar Ali, about his side's future plans. He replied that he did not understand the question and when it was

repeated lost his patience and said: "Will someone remove this buffoon?" It was hardly the remark to make with England due to play Pakistan on Sunday and Nasir Malik, secretary-general of the Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists, demanded an apology. "It was conduct unbecoming of a player to treat a journalist in such a contemptuous manner. The remark was highly deplorable."



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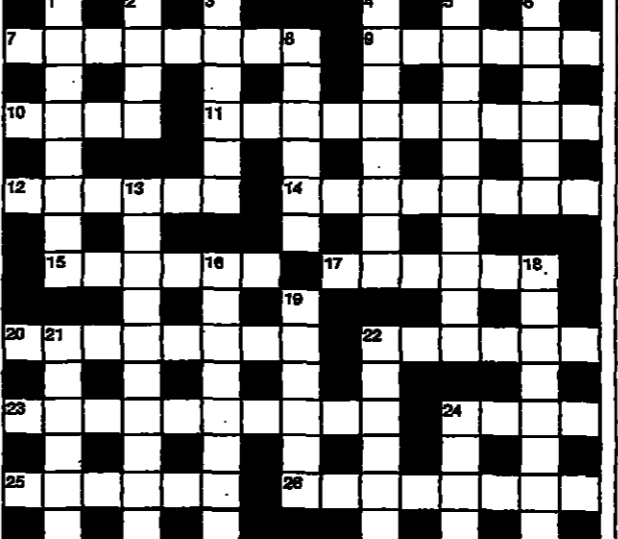
"Last year Americans who owned both a PC and a television spent more time on their PC's than watching TV"

The Interactive Newspapers Conference in San Francisco

G2 page 9

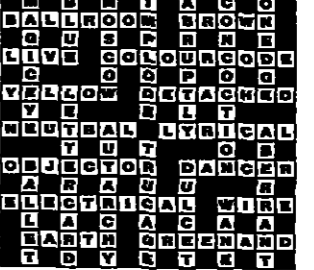
Guardian Crossword No 20,585

Set by Crispa



- Across**
- 7 The fellow getting old but still very much in control (8)
 - 9 People really dislike feeling this (6)
 - 10 Tie for a flier (4)
 - 11 Contentment not over in town? (10)
 - 12 There's a lack of colour — everything's in soft gold (6)
 - 14 Venture giving rise to extreme ill-feeling (8)
 - 15 The fathead will go in ready perhaps to foot the bill (8)
 - 17 Some schoolchildren choose to get wet (5)
 - 20 Accountants' aspiration — only the finest suit (8)
 - 22 Take offence at being asked to leave again (6)
 - 23 Considered folk wanting a leader to be base (10)

- Down**
- 1 Benefits and support may well be denied (8)
 - 2 A company project (4)
 - 3 He'll see half-a-dozen sheep right (5)
 - 4 It's natural when in drink to stagger (8)
 - 5 In gaming is the stuff of dreams (10)
 - 6 An ocean must be fit (6)
 - 8 Ranged about a very pleasant area (5)
 - 13 Operating in sinister fashion (4-5)
 - 16 The woman laid into a certain character (8)



WINNERS OF PRIZE PUZZLE 20,578
This week's winners of a Collins English Dictionary are M. G. J. Page of King's Norton, Birmingham, G. Harcourt of Chesold Hill, Cheshire, R. L. A. Tresham of Wightwick, Wolverhampton, M. W. Shepard of Bridgewater, Somerset, and G. S. Parsons of West Bridgford, Nottingham.

- 18 A worker taking part would appear fat (8)
 - 19 Superior getting no rise? That's quite wrong (5)
 - 21 The value of a horse (6)
 - 22 Regular payment received by letter (8)
 - 24 Wind register (4)
- Solution tomorrow**
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